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BY

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A LITTLE more than a year ago, on the invitation of the Syndicate of the Madras University I delivered the Sir S. Subrahmania Iyer lecture. I chose for the subject of that lecture the 'Stone Age in India' and gave an account of the life of the Indian people so far as it could be inferred from the relics of the Stone Age collected so far. Then I described that lecture as the first chapter of Indian History. My book on *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, published more than fifteen years ago, is the third chapter of the History of India. The lectures I am going to deliver now,¹ will constitute the second chapter of this entrancing story of the continuous evolution of Indian life from its start when man first appeared on this globe. The proper history of India is not the story of the rise and fall of royal dynasties, nor that of frequent invasions and constant wars, but that of the steady growth of the people in social, moral, and religious ideals, and their ceaseless attempts to realize them in actual life. Hence the work of the historian of India, as I understand it, is chiefly concerned with the construction of pictures of how the people, age by age, ate and drank, how they dressed and decorated themselves, how they lived and loved, how they sang and danced, and how they worshipped their gods and solved the mysteries of human existence.

THE SUBJECT

To the good old Vedic word 'Ārya', European scholars have attached varying connotations. A hundred years ago comparative philology was in its childhood and anthropology in an embryonic condition, and German Sanskritists invaded the realms of anthropology and imposed on it the theory that a highly civilized Aryan race, evolved in the central Asian Highlands, flowed down in various streams to India, Persia, Armenia, and the different countries of Europe, fertilized those countries and sowed the seeds of civilization far and wide. Soon this theory was modified by transferring the original centre of the Aryan race to Europe. The patriotism of French and of German scholars impelled them to rival with each other and to conclude that the motherland of each of them alone could support the honour of being the first centre of Aryan culture. Others assigned this honour to Scandinavia, to Finland, to Russia. As seven cities claimed Homer dead, so several countries claimed to be the original land of the Āryans. Then the Italian Anthropologists came into the scene and proved that the Āryans who invaded Greece, Rome and other European countries were savages who remained in the Stone Age when their neighbours had reached the Bronze Age and that wherever they settled

¹ A course of lectures delivered at the University.

in old times they destroyed the pre-existing civilization, for instance, in Crete and Etruria. To-day anthropologists say that all the races of the world are more or less mixed and that there never was a distinctive, pure Āryan race. The benefit of the theory of a conquering, civilizing Aryan race is now reserved only for Ancient Indian History, text-books of which teach that the Vedic culture was developed outside India and was imported into that country, ready made, by conquering invaders. But a careful study of the Vedas, such as is found in my *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, reveals the fact that Vedic culture is so redolent of the Indian soil and of the Indian atmosphere that the idea of the non-Indian origin of that culture is absurd. So we have got to restore, to the word 'Ārya', its original meaning found in the Vedas. The Rishis of the Vedas used the word 'Ārya' without any racial implications, but only in the sense of a people who followed the fire-cult as opposed to the fireless-cult. In the Vedic times two cults prevailed in India : (1) that followed by the Āryas to whom Sanskrit was the sacred tongue, the language of the Gods, who made offerings to the Gods through Agni, because they believed Agni to be the mouth of the Gods, and (2) that followed by the Dasyus whom the Āryas described as *anagni*, the fireless. Thus Arya was always in India a cult name, the name of a method of worship, whose main characteristic was the lighting of the sacred fire. There were two forms of the Ārya fire cult—the *Grihya* and the *Śrauta*, the cult of one fire and the cult of three fires, the *Ekāgni* and *Tretāgni*, the simple domestic fire-rites still performed in the houses chiefly of the Brahmanas and the gorgeous sacrifices, chiefly conducted by *Rajas* in ancient India up to the age of the Armageddon on the plains of Kurukshetra, and now almost extinct. The Ārya rites, besides being characterized by the mediation of the Fire-God, also required the use of Sanskrit *mantras*, which were promulgated by the ancient seers called Rishis ; the Dasyu rites had no use for fire or for Sanskrit *mantras* or for a privileged class of expert priests.

When did the Ārya rites rise ? It is impossible to determine when the concept of fire as the mouth of the Gods was worked out or when the cult of one-fire began. But it is possible to find out when the three-fire cult commenced. The Vedas and the Purāṇas assert that Purūravas first lighted the triple fire in Pratishthāna (now Prayāga or Allahabad) ; and though many royal dynasties rose and fell during the Age of the Rishis, we learn from Pargiter's *Studies of the Traditional History of Ancient India* that more than a hundred kings of one dynasty in particular reigned from the time of Purūravas down to the middle of the first millennium before the Christian era. Disregarding the Paurāṇika claim of incredibly long reigns for some of the kings of this dynasty and allowing a modest average of twenty-five years to each of them, we reach the very probable conclusion that the three-fire cult and the promulgation by the Rishis of the associated Vedic *mantras* on a large scale began about 3000 B.C. Now from the Vedic *mantras* we learn that there was intimate commercial intercourse, though there were cult rivalries, between Southern and Northern India, from the beginning of the age of the Rishis. South Indian articles like pearl, mother of pearl, scented woods, elephants, gold, the peacock, etc., were used in the land of the Āryas (*Aryāvartta*) ; a very careful study of these Vedic *mantras* also reveals that the languages of South and

North India began to influence each other, however faintly, from the beginning of the Vedic Age. An analysis of the information contained in these *mantras* also discovers the fact that the Āryas and the Dasyus, though violently opposed to each other in the cults they followed, had attained to absolutely the same level of general culture ; except in the matter of religion and literature, they lived the same kind of life ; they ate the same food, wore the same kind of clothes, had the same amusements, the same customs, manners, etc., and followed the same methods of making love and war.

Is there any way of constructing a picture of the life of any Indian people before the rise of the Ārya cult 5,000 years ago ? The Tamils were the most highly cultured of the people of India before the age of the Rishis and it is proposed here to investigate the culture which the ancient Tamils attained to in South India, before the gorgeous three-fire Ārya rites spread, and the associated Vedic literature was promulgated, in the valleys of the Sindhu and the Gaṅgā.

THREE LINES OF EVIDENCE

There are three lines of evidence which can be utilized for constructing a picture of the life of the ancient Tamils before the rise of the Arya triple-fire cult in India, north of the Vindhya. The first source of information regarding ancient South Indian life is the catalogue of prehistoric antiquities of South India, of artefacts, discovered by geologists and others, belonging to the Neolithic and early Iron Ages and deposited in the various museums of India. The study of these artefacts has to be supplemented by a careful examination of the sites whence these relics of ancient Indian man have been derived and which represent the settlements of Neolithic and early Iron Age men. Besides a careful study of ancient settlements the investigator ought also to observe the sites of ancient graveyards and conduct excavations of Neolithic and early Iron Age graves in the Tamil country before he can understand their implications with regard to the lives led by the ancient Tamils. The second line of evidence is furnished by a study of the words which the Tamil language possessed before it came in any kind of contact with Sanskrit, the sacred language of the Āryas. Nouns and verbs constitute the trunk of a language and the objects and actions which nouns and verbs refer to must have been possessed by or known to the speakers of a language before they could use those essential parts of speech in their talk. If we could make up a list of the nouns and verbs which, we are certain, belonged to the earliest stratum of the language of a people, we may infer from it what objects they handled or had observed, what actions they were able to perform, in other words, what was the nature of the life that they lived, what was the general culture they had attained to. This is the main object of this study. Our third line of evidence is the early literature of the Tamil people. The existing specimens of this literature no doubt belong to times later than what we are investigating. But we are certain that the even tenor of the life of the people in that ancient epoch was not disturbed by catastrophic changes ; therefore, as the life of the people mirrored in the early literature, which we now possess is,

but an unbroken continuation of that of the earlier epoch, the evidence of that literature can be used to confirm the conclusions reached by the use of the other two lines of evidence. It is proposed in this study to construct a picture of the culture of Tamils five thousand years ago by utilizing these sources of information.

THE EVENING OF THE LITHIC EPOCH

An account of the life of the South Indians of very ancient times derived from a study of the artefacts of the stone ages has been given by me in my *Stone Age in India*. The life of the marauder, of the hunter and the worker in bamboo, of the cowherd and the shepherd, of the farmer and the weaver, and of the fisherman, the salt-scraper and the sailor, had all been evolved amongst them while yet in the New Stone Age, as is proved by the fact that they made polished stone tools necessary for the pursuits of the different means of livelihood associated with these forms of ancient culture. All these different pursuits existed at the same time, each in the region suited to it.

The life of the people at the end of the lithic times may yet be found in the interior of the Tamil land. There still exist in the heart of the Tamil country hamlets and villages where the ubiquitous Telugu Komati is not found, where the ministrations of the all-pervasive Brāhmaṇa do not exist, and where even the *Kabandha* arm of British trade has not introduced kerosene oil and the safety match, called by the people *mannenney*,¹ earth-oil and the fire-stick, *ttkkuchchi*,² where the whistle of the steam-engine and the toot of the motor horn has not yet been heard, and if you wipe off from the picture of the life of the people there the part played by iron tools, you can see with your eyes the slow placid life of the stone-age man exactly as it was in ten thousand B.C. Even in other parts of the country, which have participated in the elevation of culture due to the later discovery of iron, to the spread of the Arya culture by the Brāhmaṇas, and to the development of internal trade during the long ages when there were numerous shufflings of dynasties of Indian Rajas and of foreign trade after European ships pierced the extensive sea-wall of Bhāratavarsha, the greater part of the life of the people is but the life of the stone-age man, exactly as it was when Indian man was in the lithic epoch of culture.

THE DAWN OF THE IRON AGE

About seven thousand years ago, began the Iron Age in India. I assign a greater antiquity to the Iron Age in India than most scholars are inclined to admit, because the Vedic culture which began at least five thousand years ago was a culture of an advanced iron age. Prior to it flourished the cultures revealed by the excavations at Adichchanallūr in the Tinnevelly District and Moheñjo Daro and Harappa in the Indus valley. Moreover I shall presently prove that the Iron Age began when Tamil had not come in any kind of contact with Sanskrit

¹மாநை கண்ணை கண்டு.

²தீக்குஞ்சி.

the linguistic vehicle of Vedic culture. Hence two thousand years before Pūrūras lighted the triple-fire at Pratishṭhāna is not at all an exaggerated estimate of the length of the Pre-Vedic Iron Age in ancient India.

In India the Stone Age quietly passed into the Iron Age. In other parts of the world, the Stone Age was followed by the Copper Age, in which people made their tools (and ornaments) of copper and they discovered methods of hardening copper and made copper knives with edges as sharp as steel ones, an art which is now forgotten. The Copper Age was soon followed by the Bronze Age, in which they learnt to make an alloy of copper and tin, which was very much harder than copper. But in South India as in China, no brief Copper Age or long Bronze Age intervened between the Neolithic Age and that of Iron. 'Professor Growland, F.R.S., the great metallurgist and the successful explorer, archæologically, of the Japanese Islands, has expressed the idea that the smelting of iron may have been hit upon by accident while experiments were being made. This lucky accident may well have happened in India, where the iron industry is one of great antiquity (far greater indeed than in Europe, e.g., at Hallstat or Le Tené) and iron ores occur so largely.'¹ An examination of several Neolithic sites proves that the passage from the Lithic to the Iron Age was not catastrophic but that the two ages overlapped everywhere. Stone tools continued to be used long after Iron tools were made, more especially on ceremonial occasions, for the stone tool being the older one, was sacrosanct and alone possessed ceremonial purity, and hence stone tools occur along with iron ones in the graves of the early Iron Age.

Mr. Vincent A. Smith, the historian of India, an expert numismatist and not primarily an investigator of pre-historic antiquities and one totally ignorant of South Indian life or history and of early South Indian artefacts, assumes without a shadow of proof that iron was 'utilized in Northern India from at least 1000 B.C.', and that 'in Southern India the discovery or introduction of iron may have occurred much later and quite independently.'² Here are two gratuitous assumptions. The Vedic culture which was developed in India at least before 300 B.C., was an Iron Age culture. The iron (*ayast*, castles, mythological or actual, spoken of in the Vedic *mantras* and the distinct reference to *syāmamayas*,³ black metal, are enough to prove this. So far as South India is concerned, Foote, who has examined most South Indian pre-historic sites so far known, has concluded that the antiquity of the iron industry of India is far greater than in Europe; and every one who has opened graves of the later Stone Age and the earlier Iron Age and studied the pottery associated with stone and iron tools and has also carefully examined settlements of those ancient times can easily satisfy himself that iron was discovered and worked in South India many millenniums before the beginnings of the Christian era. Soon after iron was discovered, South Indians learned to isolate from their ores gold, silver and copper and make ornaments and utensils of these metals. They also arrived at the general idea of metal as a material for household utensils in addition to stone and

¹ Foote, *Prehistoric Antiquities*, p. 25.

² Oxford History of India, p. 4.
³ *Atharva Veda*, xi. 3, 7.

wood previously used. They gave to metal the name of *pon*,¹ the lustrous material, from *pol*² to shine. Gold was also called *pon*, the metal *par excellence*, as well as *tangam*,³ the superior metal, *uyarnda pon*,⁴ the superior (ever clean) metal. Iron was *irumbu*,⁵ the dark metal, from *ir*,⁶ dark (whence *iruvu*,⁷ *irā*,⁸ night, *irul*,⁹ *iruṭṭu*,¹⁰ *iruṭṭi*,¹¹ darkness, *irundai*,¹² charcoal). Probably *irumu*¹³ was the earlier form of Telugu *inumu*. Iron was also called *karumbon*,¹⁴ meaning the black metal. Silver was *velli*,¹⁵ the white metal, and copper *sembu*,¹⁶ the red metal. That these four metals were alone known to ancient Tamil India and that tin, lead, and zinc were not known is proved by the fact that the Tamil names of these latter have been borrowed from Sanskrit. Thus tin is *tagaram*,¹⁷ lead is *īyam*¹⁸ (from Sanskrit *sīsam*, through Prakrit), and Zinc is *tuttam*¹⁹ (whence the English word *tutty*, polishing powder) or *nāgam*.²⁰ Tin and lead are also respectively called *velliyam*,²¹ and *kāriyam*,²² white and black *īyam*,²³ under the mistaken idea that they were black and white varieties of the same metal. Brass, an alloy of copper and zinc, was also borrowed from Aryan India, its name *pittalai*²⁴ being borrowed from the Northern dialects. Bronze, an alloy of copper and tin, was not unknown in ancient Tamil India, for a few bronze implements and ornaments have been discovered in early Iron Age graves; one such, a tiny *kūja*²⁵ (with its mouth so small that the little finger could not be squeezed into it). I recovered from an ancient grave, associated with a bill-hook, whose peculiar shape, similar to that of the weapon of the village gods, betokened its great age; and this vessel was made of an alloy of copper and tin, which, on chemical analysis, was found to be remarkably free from impurities. The Bronze Age in Europe extended over long centuries; but there was no necessity in South India for a Bronze Age, because the people had discovered iron before bronze and iron is a much better material for tools than bronze. The goldsmiths of India have used bronze only for polishing hammers and for stamps and dies, because these have to be made of a material both hard and incapable of being covered with rust, which would deteriorate the faces of polishing-hammers and destroy the delicate lines of the designs incorporated in stamps, dies, and moulds. Otherwise iron alone was the material used for tools in South India throughout the ages. Bronze was called in ancient Tamil *urai*,²⁶ but the fact that more bronze was imported from Northern India than was made in Southern India, is proved by the use of the words *kañīyam*,²⁷ *kāñīyam*,²⁸ from Sanskrit *kāmsyam*, and *tāram*,²⁹ from Sanskrit *tāra*, radiant, shining, as well as the artificial compound words *veigalam*,³⁰ the white vessel Malayalam *vellodu*,³¹ the white shell. Bronze was worked to some extent in South India, but 'the numerous bronze objects, many of which are of great beauty from the cemeteries of the South, do not belong to an age characterized by the sole use of that alloy.'³²

¹ புரன். ² புரல். ³ தங்க. ⁴ உயர்த்தபெறன். ⁵ இரும்பு. ⁶ இர. ⁷ இரவு. ⁸ இருள். ⁹ இருள்.
¹⁰ இரட்டி. ¹¹ இரட்டி. ¹² இரக்கத. ¹³ இருபு. ¹⁴ கரும்பெறன். ¹⁵ வெள்ளி. ¹⁶ செம்பு.
¹⁷ தாரம். ¹⁸ செம்பு. ¹⁹ தாரம். ²⁰ தாரம். ²¹ வள்ளியம். ²² கர்மியம். ²³ செம்பு. ²⁴ பித்தன்.
²⁵ குஜ. ²⁶ உரை. ²⁷ காஞ்சியம். ²⁸ தார்மியம். ²⁹ தாரம். ³⁰ வெண்ணலம். ³¹ வெண்ணாரு.

³² J. Coggan Brown, *Cat. of Prehistoric Antiquities in the Indian Museum*, p. 8.

As Foote, too, remarks, 'as it fell out, however, the discovery of the alloy [bronze] was not made in India till after the art of iron-smelting had been acquired and iron weapons and tools had come largely in use.' *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

THE COPPER AGE IN NORTH INDIA

There is some evidence that there was a copper age in some parts of Northern India, which preceded the iron age there. Implements composed of practically pure copper have been found at several sites in Northern India, chiefly in the Upper Ganges Valley. Besides, at Gungeriah in the Balaghat District of the Central Provinces has been found a hoard, which 'according to Sir John Evans . . . is the most important discovery of instruments of copper yet recorded in the old world. In 1870 no less than 424 hammered copper implements, made of practically pure metal, weighing collectively 829 pounds, and 102 thin silver plates were discovered there. The copper implements are extremely varied in form, principally consisting of flat celts of many different shapes. There are also many long crowbar-like instruments with an expanded lunette-shaped chisel edge at the lower end, which may be designated as 'bar-celts'. The silver objects are all laminæ about the thickness of ordinary paper, comprising two classes, viz., circular disks and 'bull's' heads. The Gungeria deposits although found south of the Narbada River, is clearly to be associated by reason of its contents with Northern India.'¹ The Upper Ganges Valley was the home of the Arya cult in ancient days. Hence copper became a holy metal in that cult; copper knives were used in some sacramental acts, e.g., marking cattle's ears,² hence copper vessels to Brahmanas even to-day possess ceremonial purity which bronze and iron vessels do not possess and are used for holding consecrated water during ceremonial worship. Not so outside the Arya cult, where copper is not considered holier than iron, for it was not discovered earlier than the black metal in South India.

IRON AGE ANTIQUITIES

Tools of various shapes have been recovered from the graves of this period. From one site on the Shevaroys in the Salem District Foote got 'a large axe, a very fine bill-hook of large size with its handle in one piece, a sharp sword and two javelin heads made with tangs instead of sockets.'³ From another site were got 'axe-heads, spear heads and fragments of blades of large knives or small swords. The iron axe-heads had a broad butt unlike a very good one (found in another place, which had) a very taper butt end expanding into a rather leaf-shaped blade. The method of fastening the iron axe-heads to their helves would seem to have been that adopted nowadays or certainly not very long ago, namely, of inserting the butt-end of the axe-head into a cleft in a piece of hard wood with a couple of rings and a wedge to tighten the hold of the helve. The rings are placed on either side of the butt end, and the wedge is driven tightly through the ring spaces and prevents the axe-head from slipping ; but the lower end also prevents the cleft in the helve from extending downwards.'⁴ The shapes of the bill-hooks and some other tools of the

¹ J. Coggin Brown, *op. cit.* p. 10.

² *Lohita Svadhisti*, *Ath. Ved.*, vi. 141, 2.

³ Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 63.. Cf. the way in which the blades of spades, *mavetti*, are furnished with handles now.

early Iron Age were exactly like those of the implements now in the hands of the village gods, as I found from a specimen obtained from a grave in the Pudukotta territory. While the shapes of tools used for secular purposes have changed with time on account of changes of fashion or other causes, the gods have stuck to the oldest fashions of tools.

Pre-historical iron tools have not been found in sufficiently large numbers considering the wide spread of iron manufacture in ancient India ; for iron objects of all kinds are with great ease 'utterly destroyed and lost by oxidation when exposed to damp, yet, from the very durable character of the pottery the iron age people produced and the vast quantity of it they left, it is evident that in a large number of cases they must have occupied the old neolithic settlements ; and the celts and other stone implements are now mixed up with the highly polished and brightly coloured sherds of the later-aged earthenware. Except in a very few cases the dull-coloured and rough surfaced truly (or rather early) neolithic sherds occur but very sparingly'.¹ Indian iron age pottery was so good that Foote remarks that the people who could make such high class pottery . . . must have attained a considerable degree of civilization.² Foote discovered at Maski near Raichur, in the Hyderabad State, 'the right jamb of the door of a small hut-urn, the prototype of the hut urns now met with in various parts of the country, some of which show remarkable resemblance to the same objects of Western classical antiquity, such as were found under the volcanic tufa near the Alban Lakes to the South of Rome. They were in some cases filled with the ashes of the dead after cremation, which were introduced by a little front door. The door was secured in place by means of a rope passing through two rings at its sides and tied round it. The whole resembled in shape a cottage with vaulted roof'.³ The little door of another little hut-urn found by Foote 'had no hinges but was kept closed by two rude bolts working through flattish rings, on either side of the door, into a wider ring in the centre of it. . . . One in the British Museum . . . is filled with the ashes of the dead, which were introduced by a little door. This door was secured by a cord passing through two rings at its sides and tied round the vase. The cover or roof is vaulted and apparently intended to represent the beams of a house or cottage. The exterior had been ornamented with a meander of white paint, traces of which remain. The ashes were placed inside a large, two-handled vase which protected them from the superincumbent mass. They have no glaze upon their surface but a polish produced by friction'.⁴ But these hut-urns probably belonged to a late age, when on account of the influence of the fire-cult, cremation had been adopted in the place of the more ancient custom of burial.

¹ Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

² *Ibid.*, p. 25.

'The true iron-age vessel (pottery) is distinguished by showing rich colours and highly polished surfaces with, in some cases, elaborate and artistic mouldings.' Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 25 ; but Indian artists even of the ancient days avoided painting human figures, such as were 'admirably done by the Greek vase painters'. (*Ibid.*, p. 34.) The early Indian had generally a prejudice against portrait-painting or reproducing the figures of kings on coins.

³ Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 35. Not only urns but temples also were shaped like huts.

⁴ Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

After describing the specimens of pottery found on the left bank of the Cauvery at the ferry at Lakshmanapuram, six or seven miles above the Narsipur Sangam (in Mysore), Foote remarks, 'the people that made the Lakshmanapuram settlement must have been very advanced to have used so varied a set of crockery.'¹ On the French Rocks, not far from Mysore City, Foote found a chatty with the *swastika* emblem. In another place he found 'a perforated disc made out of a piece of dark brown pottery which has been well ground round its periphery and has had a hole equally well-drilled through its centre.'² Apparently it was a spindle whorl. East of the big tank at Srinivasapur in the Kolar Taluk, 'several acres of ground are covered with much comminuted earthenware lying in a thin layer. The prevailing colour of the sherds is red but entirely black occurs also and some specimens are brown and grey, but very few of the latter are met with. The vessels were polished, or smooth, or rough, and a great number of them richly decorated with impressed patterns of pinnate or bipinnate fronds combined with linear bands, raised or sunk. Others have fillets of dots or piletts or trellis work painted on the sides. In hardly any case is a pattern produced in duplicate and there is also great variety in the shapes of the lips of the different vessels as well as in their sizes. The fragments are referable to a considerable number of distinct forms as *lotas*, vessels with spouts, vessels with three or four legs, *chattis*, melon-shaped bowls, wide-mouthed bowls, vases, necks and feet of vases, lids and stoppers various in shape, also pottery discs for playing games and perforated discs of uncertain purpose. Half a dozen pieces of broken bangles of chank shell occurred scattered about in the layer of potsherds.'³

EARLY IRON AGE GRAVES

At Ādichchanallūr, two miles west of Srīvaikunṭam in the Tinnevelly District there is 'an inexhaustible field of archæological research of the most valuable description'.⁴ The burial site here extends over a hundred acres of land. It is a long piece of high ground on the south bank of the Tāmraparnī. The site, like all sepulchral sites, is higher than the surrounding country and is rocky or waste land unsuited for cultivation. 'About the centre of the ground some three feet of surface soil is composed of gravel, with decomposed quartz rock below. The rock has been hollowed out for the urns, with a separate cavity for each of them. In this burial ground the objects were found both inside and outside large urns of a pyriform shape. The urns were at an average distance of about six feet apart and at from three to twelve feet or more below the surface. Some were found placed over other ones. An idea of the deposits which exist in the whole area may thus be obtained, as an acre probably holds over a thousand urns. This is the most extensive and important pre-historic burial place as

¹ Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

² *Ibid.*, p. 73.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁴ All the quotations in this paragraph are from Rea's *Catalogue of the Prehistoric Antiquities of the place*.

yet known in Southern India.' In the graves have been found articles of gold, bronze and iron and pottery. Among them were diadems of gold of various sizes and oval shape. 'Some have a strip extending beyond the two extremities with a small hole for a wire or string at each end. They are thin plates ornamented with triangular and linear dotted design. Of iron, many implements were found (Mr. Rea's list of them numbers 3,940), always placed point downwards, as if they had been thrust into the surrounding earth by the attendant mourners. There are no implements or weapons in bronze, all articles in this metal being vessels of varied shape, personal ornaments such as rings, bangles and bracelets, or ornaments which have been attached to the bases and lids of vases, such as buffaloes with wide curved horns. The domestic animals represented in bronze are the buffalo, goat or sheep and cock; and the wild animals are the tiger, antelope and elephant. There are also representations of flying birds. There are sieves in bronze in the form of perforated cups fitted into small basins, the metal of these cups being extremely thin, and the basins only a little thicker. The perforations in the cup are in the form of dots arranged in a variety of designs, chiefly concentric circles around the bottom, and concentric semi-circles sometimes interlying around the rim.' There is no evidence of cremation at the place; this assures the great antiquity of the remains, for the custom of burning corpses spread in Southern India along with the Aryan cult from North India.

In the Pudukottah territory I have found rows of early iron age graves several miles long. The one near the village of Annavāśal, ten miles from Pudukottah, is the most notable of these burial sites. The graves are of oblong shape, each oblong consisting of a double square, the side of the square being two cubits in length. It is lined throughout with well-polished stone slabs and the two compartments are separated by another similar slab forming a wall between the two. In one of the squares was probably buried in an urn a chieftain or other ancient nobleman and in the other his wife. There is a circular hole in the middle of the slab separating the compartments, probably to allow the ghosts of the buried persons to communicate with each other. In a niche in the recess in each compartment, a stone lamp was placed which was probably lighted when the person was let into the grave. Inside the urns, as in the graves of the previous age, were placed the ornaments and implements of the dead person, and a tray full of food-stuff. The tools found in these graves are both of stone and iron; proving that the older stone tools continued to be used, more especially, for religious purposes.

A new fashion of tombs called megalithic, because they were built of big blocks of stone, was introduced in the end of the neolithic or the beginning of the iron age. Modern anthropologists are of opinion that the fashion began in the Nile Valley and spread in the wake of an ancient Egyptian sun cult. This shows that there was much intercourse, cultural and commercial, between ancient India and Egypt.

Mr. Longhurst gives the following description of a megalithic tomb he found in Gajjalakonda, in Kurnul District. 'The tomb consists of a large rectangular chamber about 10 feet in length, $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in width and 7 feet in depth with a small entrance passage on the south side, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet in width, and 3 feet high. The sides

and door of the tomb and entrance passage are walled in and flagged with massive slabs of cut stone which are firmly imbedded in the ground in an upright position and help to carry the heavy slabs above forming the roof over the tomb.¹

The archæologists' spade has recently brought to light two early copper age settlements of the Sindhu Valley, of more than six thousand years ago,—those of Harappa and Moheñjo Daro. The chief difference between these and the South Indian iron age sites is that in these there are relics of houses built of brick. Brick was used in North India millenniums before it was used in South India, for here very hard wood fit for house-building was available in large quantities till about a thousand years ago. The existence of these two seats of high civilization in the valley of Sindhu disproves conclusively the dream of Sanskrit scholars that Aryan immigrants with their wives and children and with their Lares and Penates, and a ready-made civilization, manufactured outside India, quietly occupied the Panjab about 3000 B.C. and, when these Aryan settlers appeared there, the original dwellers of the region vanished like the mist before the rising sun and let the foreign invaders people the Punjab with a pure Aryan race, possessing the Aryan nose and the Aryan cephalic index, as the current theory maintains. These finds also prove that, contrary to the opinion of Mr. J. Coggins Brown, in the neolithic as well as in the early metal age, there was a uniform degree of civilization attained throughout India. The advances to higher and higher civilization were as even as it was possible to be in a vast country like India.

Thus the evidence accumulated by the investigators of prehistoric antiquities of India proves that even before the spread of the Ārya fire-cult in Northern India, the people had reached a stage of culture indistinguishable from that which they occupy to-day except for the changes introduced by the cotton and metal manufactures of Western Europe during the last hundred years. The rise of the Ārya fire-cult did not alter the stage of culture reached by the people, for we find from the study of the Vedic *mantras* that there was no 'difference of culture between the Ārya and the Dasyu; according to the Hymns composed for performing the Ārya rites, the Dasyus lived in 'cities'² and under kings the names of many of whom are mentioned. They possessed 'accumulated wealth'³ in the form of cows, horses and chariots⁴ which though kept in 'hundred-gated' cities⁵ Indra seized and gave away to his worshippers, the Āryas.⁶ The Dasyus were wealthy⁷ and owned property 'in the plains and on the hills.'⁸ They were 'adorned with their array of gold and jewels.'⁹ They owned many castles.¹⁰ The Dasyu demons and the Ārya gods alike lived in gold, silver and iron castles.¹¹ Indra overthrew for his worshipper, Divodāsa, frequently mentioned in the hymns, a hundred stone castles¹² of the Dasyus. Agni worshipped by the Ārya, gleaming in

¹ Annual Report of the Archæological Dept., Southern Circle, Madras, for 1914-15, p. 40.

² R. V. i. 53. 8 ; i. 103. 3. ³ R. V. viii. 40. 6. ⁴ R. V. ii. 15. 4.

⁵ R. V. x. 99. 3. ⁶ R. V. i. 176. 4. ⁷ R. V. i. 33. 4.

⁸ R. V. x. 69. 6. ⁹ R. V. i. 33. 8. ¹⁰ R. V. i. 33. 13 ; viii. 17. 14.

¹¹ S.Y.S. vi. 23 ; A. V. v. 28. 9 ; R. V. ii. 20. 8. ¹² R. V. iv. 30. 20.

front of him, tore and burnt the cities of the fireless Dasyus¹ Br̄haspati broke the stone prisons in which they kept the cattle raided from the Āryas.² The Dasyus owned chariots and used them in war like the Āryas³ and had the same weapons as the Aryas. The distinction indicated by 'Ārya' and 'Dasyu' was purely a difference of cult and not of race or culture.⁴

LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

We now come to another fruitful source of information, the chief means of the study of the subject, i.e., 'pure Tamil words', those belonging to the earliest stratum of the Tamil language, those that were used by the Tamil people before they came in any kind of contact with the users of Sanskrit or with the cult associated with that language. The nouns and verbs belonging to this ancient stratum of the Tamil language indicate objects and actions with which the Tamil people were familiar in that ancient epoch. These 'pure' Tamil words are called *tanittamil moligal*,⁵ words untouched by foreign influence; they were used by the Tamils to serve the needs of the culture which they had evolved for themselves before they were influenced by any other people in the world. This method of inferring the culture of a people from a study of the words peculiar to them was worked by Schräder, a generation ago, in his *Pre-Historic Antiquities of the Aryan People*; but Schräder's work suffered from three disabilities: (1) The baseless dream of a homogeneous Aryan race radiating in all directions from a central focus and carrying the torch of civilization to the countries of Western Asia and Europe, has dissolved in the light of Anthropological knowledge. (2) The people that carried the Indo-European dialects and imposed them in those countries have been proved to be a mixture of several tribes; moreover these dialects in their wanderings picked up so many words from other dialects that the words common to all the Indo-European dialects are few. (3) Even these few have undergone many phonetic changes; the laws governing these changes are being worked out so very slowly that many equations of the early scholars, e.g., that of Greek *Ouranos* with Indian *Varuna*, have become discredited by later research. On account of these reasons several conclusions of Schräder have had to be given up by later scholars. But the method of investigation pursued by Schräder is sound and can very well be applied to Tamil. This language, as its speakers have always claimed to be, is indigenous to South India, and grew there undisturbed by foreign languages till it reached a high stage of literary development. The Tamil race has been a homogeneous one since the Stone Age. The first few foreign students of the Tamil language indulged in a wild speculation that the Tamil language and its ancient-speakers entered India from Central Asia, simply because a few Brāhui words were found to appear to be allied to Tamil. This is far too slender a basis for concluding that Tamil was originally a non-Indian language. Scholars of two generations ago were fond of wantonly dragging

¹ R. V. vii. 5.3. ² R. V. iv. 28.5; x. 67.3. ³ R. V. viii. 24.27; iii. 30.5; ii. 15.4.

⁴ P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, p.12.

⁵ தனித்தமிழ்மூர்த்தை.

imaginary ancient races on the map of the world, as easily as pawns are moved on a chess-board, without regard for physiographic difficulties.¹ Moreover, they were ignorant of the fact that the extensive and well-developed Stone Age culture of ancient South India, enshrined in the earliest stratum of Tamil is ample proof that the Tamils inhabited South India from time immemorial.

METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

It is the case with Tamil, as with most other languages, that there are two stages in the formation of words, an unconscious and a conscious one. When the science of comparative philology was born, about a hundred years ago, it was imagined that at first men invented and spoke only roots and, later, some of the roots became worn out into prefixes and suffixes, prepositions and postpositions, and a German philologist had the hardihood to write Aesop's Fables in an imaginary Indo-Germanic root-language, a kind of ghostly *Ursprache*, which never existed. The science of linguistics has got over this crude supposition. All students of language now recognize that it is as absurd to think that primitive man met in a solemn dumb conclave and invented a series of roots, as it is to assume with Rousseau, that the savage started gregarious life with a 'social contract'. The process of language-formation and language-growth is mostly unconscious; and if a number of words of allied meaning are also etymologically allied, if primitive man used the same stem for expressing ideas which were fundamentally identical, the process was more or less unconscious. Thus in Tamil, *var* is the common element of a series of words : *varappu*² meaning limit, border, wall, dike or ridge round a ploughed field to retain water ; *varambu*,³ dam, way, limit, rule ; *vari*,⁴ line, row ; *varisai*,⁵ order, regularity, row ; *varichchal*,⁶ dart, surgeon's probe, *varivadiveiuttu*,⁷ written-letter, *eluttu*,⁸ letter, the ultimate unit of language, being conceived as existing in two forms, the spoken form and the written form,⁹ *varinari*¹⁰ (*tannirvittan*),¹¹ *Asparagus racemosus*, a linear-leaved shrub, *varudal*,¹² stroking, thrumming a stringed (musical) instrument, *varai*,¹³ measure, limit, shore, ridge, hill, the straight bamboo, write, draw, *varaivu*,¹⁴ measure, limit, bound, separation. The implication of these facts is not that the

¹ As Mr. G. Elliot Smith has remarked (*vide Nature* January 1, 1927, p. 21) 'in ethnology emotion still counts for more than reason. The dominating principle is still to force the evidence into conformity with certain catch-phrases from which a long line of philosophers have been striving to rescue the study of mankind and make a real science of it.'

² வரப்பு. ³ வரம்பு. ⁴ வரி. ⁵ வரிசை. ⁶ வரிச்சல். ⁷ வரிவடிவெழுத்து. ⁸ எழுத்து.

⁹ In this connection may be remembered Pavanandi's definition :

எனிமுதல் கரண மாமாதுத் திருக்காலி மேழுத்து.

eluttu, the sound, formed by a group of atoms, which is the first cause of words *Nannūl*, 58. *Eluttu* has two manifest forms, the spoken and the written.

¹⁰ வரிவரி. ¹¹ தன்னிடவிட்டன். ¹² ஏருடல்.

¹³ The word *varai*, வரை, appears in Telugu as *vrāyi*, by a process of oscillation of accent from the first syllable to the second syllable, of the consequent degeneration of the vowel of the first syllable, and the return of the accent to the new first syllable. This oscillation explains the formation from Tamil *avan* of *vān*, *vāndu*, *vādu*, from Tamil *maram* of *mrānu*, and hundreds of other similar formations.

¹⁴ வரை.

South Indian man, when he was still dumb, arrived at the highly abstract concept of a limit marked by a straight line by a mysterious mental process unassisted by language, whereas modern man with his highly developed intelligence cannot engage himself in abstract thought without the help of words, that the primitive Tamil then invented the root *var* to express this concept, and later, formed the above words by ringing changes on the root. Language formation and linguistic growth and change are semiconscious or rather unconscious mental processes like the song of the lark or the gambol of the kid. It was when a people first came in intimate contact with a language other than their own and compared the two and noticed differences in the structure of words, of phrases and of sentences between the two languages, that they began to study their own language and the science of grammar was born. After such a contact with a foreign language, languages enter on a conscious stage of growth. Thus the words of a language belong to two stages of the growth of that language. (1) An early unconscious stage of word-invention, during the period when the language has not yet come into contact with a foreign language. Nouns belonging to this stage are called in Tamil grammar *idukurippeyer*,¹ symbol-names, names given to things as a mere mark, a symbol, for some reason not known. These words are the oldest words of any language. (2) A later conscious stage of word-making. Words belonging to this stage are compounds consciously invented by combining *idukuri* words of one's language into new combinations; thus, when the Tamils wanted a word for 'brick', which was used as a material for house-building only in a very late stage of South Indian history, that after contact with Sanskrit, they invented two compound words, (a) *śuduman*,² burnt clay. (b) *śengal*,³ red stone. Of these, the first word did not appeal to the Tamil people and died an early death; the second has stuck on to the language. Similarly in our own days, we have invented compounds like *iruppuppādai*,⁴ the railroad, *minsāram*,⁵ electricity, etc. Such names are named by Tamil grammarians as *kāraṇappeyar*,⁶ casual names, because the reason why the names were given to the objects is evident.⁷ These two classes of names, *idukurippeyer* and *kāraṇappeyar* are called in Sanskrit *Rūḍhi* and *Yoga*, original and derived. Or the speakers of a language when they borrow a thing from a foreign people, may borrow also its foreign name and may partially or totally remould it in accordance with the phonetic framework of the mother-tongue. Thus the Tamils of an earlier epoch borrowed the Sanskrit word *iṣṭikā*, brick, and turned into *ishtigai*,⁸ or *ittigai*.⁹ Often they absorbed the foreign word as it was, e.g., *śnavam:lam*,¹⁰ *śaṣṭi*,¹¹ etc. The former are called by Sanskritists, *tadbhava*, and the latter *tatsama*. We, too, nowadays, get both *tadbhava* and *tatsama* words from English. Thus we speak of *te*¹² and also *tea*, of *maistri* and *master*, etc.

¹ இடுகுறிப்பேயர். ² சுமூக. ³ செஞ்கல். ⁴ இருப்புப்பாடை. ⁵ மின்சாரம். ⁶ காரணப்பேயர்.

⁷ Some Tamil grammarians make a further distinction between *kāraṇappeyar* and *kāraṇa idukurippeyer*; but this distinction does not affect the argument developed here and so need not be noticed. Others would regard verbs turned into names as *kāraṇappeyar*, e.g. *kal*, stone, from verb *kal*, to dig, etc., but this refinement, too, will not affect our argument, for the root is an *idukuri*.

⁸ இட்டிகள்.

⁹ இட்டிகள்.

¹⁰ ஆசவமலம்.

¹¹ ஆட்டி.

¹² தீ.

Of these two kinds of words, *idukurippeyer* and *karanappeyer*, the first alone will serve the purpose of this enquiry. They alone come down from the far off ages when the Tamil language was born, when objects and actions were named unconsciously or semi-consciously.

Other words will not serve our purpose. Modern Tamil vocabulary includes words borrowed from English, French, Dutch, Portuguese, Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit and Prakrit. Of the loan-words from Sanskrit, some have been borrowed wantonly, i.e., when there are many Tamil words to express the ideas ; this was partly due to Brāhmaṇas whose familiarity with Sanskrit made them import such words in their Tamil speech and writing. This extensive borrowing was also due to the necessities of rhyme and assonance, a great characteristic of Tamil poetry. Loan-words began to enter Tamil not before 1000 B.C. and cannot be of any use in investigating the life of the Tamils before they came into contact with other nationalities, except that words not wantonly borrowed may be used as negative evidence to show what the Tamils were not acquainted with before such borrowing. But the date of these borrowings cannot be fixed. So even this negative evidence is not of much use. Similarly what are called *karaṇappeyer*, words deliberately invented to name things and express ideas for which there were no *idukurippeyer*, cannot also serve our purpose, for such casual names can be invented at any stage of a language and cannot be proved to have existed or to have not existed at any particular period of time.

Hence *idukuri* names alone will be used in this enquiry. Such words in Tamil are practically root-words, without the wrappings of prefixes, augments, suffixes, etc., which disguise the root in Sanskrit words and make Sanskrit etymology so difficult and in some cases unconvincing. As these *idukuri* words are naked root-words they belong to the earliest stage of Tamil, the stage when the language was unconsciously forged by the stone-age man. Examples of such words are *man*,¹ *pul*,² *un*,³ *pō*,⁴ *tī*,⁵ *nīr*,⁶ *min*,⁷ *vān*,⁸ *a*,⁹ *kā*,¹⁰ etc. The stage of the invention of such simple root-words cannot occur more than once in the history of a language. First because it is a stage of unconscious development of a language ; secondly, if roots could be invented at any stage of a language, there would be no necessity for loan-words and consciously invented compounds at all. When men after progressing beyond the earliest stage of a language found or made new things which required names, the native power of inventing roots having become exhausted, they semi-consciously extended the meanings of old words by the processes of metaphor and metonymy. Examples of words which belong to this stage are, *marai*,¹¹ shield, from *marai*, to hide, *pon*,¹² metal from *pōl*,¹³ to shine, *sembu*,¹⁴ a pot from *sembu*, copper, itself from *se*,¹⁵ red. This may be treated as a second semi-conscious stage of the development of a language. These words are practically *idukuri* words, and will be utilized in this enquiry. A language becomes fully conscious only when it comes in contact with foreign languages ; then it finds its soul, as it were, and becomes conscious of its structure ; then alone it forges compound

¹ மன். ² புல். ³ உன். ⁴ சூரி. ⁵ போ. ⁶ நீர். ⁷ மென். ⁸ வான். ⁹ அ. ¹⁰ கா. ¹¹ மரைப். ¹² பூரை. ¹³ சூரை. ¹⁴ செம்பு. ¹⁵ சே.

causal names like *parima*,¹ horse, the fast-going animal, *vaigalvarumīn*,² the morning star, words which will not serve the purpose of this investigation.

One more preliminary question has to be dealt with. With regard to most words now belonging to Tamil, the separation of pure Tamil words from those borrowed from Sanskrit is very easy. But most Sanskrit scholars assume that every Tamil word which looks like a Sanskrit one must have been borrowed from Sanskrit by the Tamils. When the speakers of two different languages come in touch with each other, the probabilities are that each language will borrow words from the other. Thus the names of articles produced only in South India, such as pearls, pepper, cardamoms, must certainly have been borrowed by Sanskrit from Tamil. Hence Sanskrit *maricha*, *muktā*, *ela*, are derived from Tamil *miriyal*³ or *milagu*,⁴ *muttu*,⁵ *ēlam* ;⁶ there are other Sanskrit words borrowed from Tamil wantonly which Sanskrit scholars wrongly claim to belong to Sanskrit, e.g., *niram*, *m̄nam*, evidently derived from Tamil *nīr*,⁷ *mīn*,⁸ for we cannot imagine that the Tamils were drinking water and eating fish for ages without names for these objects and deferred naming them till Sanskrit speakers presented them with names for them. Many such words can be rescued for Tamil from the hands of Sanskrit scholars, but in this enquiry for the purpose of disarming criticism, words which might be legitimately claimed to be Tamil, though they look like corresponding Sanskrit words, have not been much pressed into service.

Even after giving the benefit of the doubt to Sanskrit, it will be found that there is in Tamil a strikingly large variety of names for objects and actions. The wealth of synonyms for names of familiar objects will be found to be enormous as this investigation progresses. It looks as if when man began to invent words, he was in a state of childhood and as a child revels in the use of toys and is never tired of playing with them, primitive man used the power of inventing words as his great toy and invented a number of names for the same thing. Love of certain objects familiar to them may perhaps have been another motive for this multiplication of *idukūti* synonyms : but whatever it was, it is of use in this our enquiry into the conditions of life of the ancient Tamils.

EVIDENCE OF LITERATURE

The third source of information for this study is early Tamil literature. The age to which this literature belongs has been the occasion for much dispute. The controversy has centred round a statement made at first by the commentator on *Iraiyanāragapporu*⁹ and repeated by later commentators. It is to the effect that there were three epochs of ancient Tamil Literature, each marked by the existence of a *Sangam*,¹⁰ academy of its own, presided over, each by the members of a particular dynasty of Pāndya kings, whose capitals were respectively *Madurai*, swallowed long ago by the sea, *Kabādapuram*¹¹ and *North Madurai*, i.e., the present city of that name.

¹பரிசு. ²வைகல்வருமீன். ³மிரியல். ⁴மினாகு. ⁵முத்து. ⁶ஏலம். ⁷நீர். ⁸மீன்
⁹இடுகுப்பாற்றுப்பெட்டுருள். ¹⁰சுஞ்சம். ¹¹சுருட்புரம்.

This tradition says that the first *Saṅgam* lived for 4,440 years, the second, for 3,700 years, and the third for 1,850 years. Much importance cannot be assigned to these precise figures, because early South Indian history does not reveal the existence of any particular era for the calculation of the passage of time in years from the year one of that era. Even eras established outside the Tamil country, like the Śālivāhana era, were adopted in South India not more than six hundred years ago. Dated lists of early Tamil kings do not, and cannot, on account of the want of an era, exist. The kings of these three dynasties are said to have been respectively 89, 59 and 49 ; this would give these Pāṇḍyas lengths of reign which no student of history can accept. The average length of the reigns of kings of dynasties which have lasted long, can range between twenty and thirty, but cannot mount up to fifty or sixty. Hence the alleged durations of the Saṅgams are impossibly long and are also incapable of being checked by means of other sources of information, and useless as evidence of age. Moreover the commentator on *Iraiyanāragapporul* who is our first informant about the three Saṅgams is said to be Nakkirar.¹ But the commentaries themselves name a series of ten scholars, beginning from Nakkirar, each the pupil of his predecessor. The last of them, Muśiriyāśiriyar Nilagandanār,² must therefore be the author of the commentaries as we now have them, though they may be claimed to possess a few sentences coming down from Nakkirar's time. Moreover these commentaries embody a poem of 329 stanzas, whose hero is a Pāṇḍya king, Parāṅguśan Śadayan Māraṇ Arikēśari,³ who flourished about A.D. 750. Thus the earliest record about the chronology of the Saṅgams is found in a book composed in the latter half of the eighth century and cannot have much evidential value, specially as there was a total absence of contemporary chronological records before that age. Let us turn now to the internal evidence of early Tamil poems. One of these decidedly claims to belong to pre-Christian times. This is an ode of twenty-four irregular lines⁴ sung by Murañjiyūr Muđinagarāyar,⁵ a poet of the first Saṅgam of tradition, in honour of Sēramān Peruñjōṛru Udiyan Sēral Adan,⁶ a Sēra king, and attributing to him the honour of feeding the armies of both sides in the Bhārata battle. Almost all modern enquirers agree that the middle of the first millennium B.C. was the epoch of the great war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas. There is no reason, except prejudice, to discredit the chronological claim of this ode. Hence we may conclude that from the beginning of the second millennium B.C., if not earlier, the kings of the three early Tamil royal houses, the Sēra, the Sōla and the Pāṇḍya, as well as several petty chiefs of South India, patronized minstrels called Pāṇar,⁷ who, with the Yāl⁸ on their shoulders, wandered from court to court and sang beautiful odes on the adventures of kings and nobles in love and war, or, as they called it, on *Agam*⁹ and *Puram*.¹⁰ Many of these odes are now lost, because they were preserved only in the archives of human memory ; but a great

¹ நக்கிரர். ² முசிறியாசிரியர் தீவங்கடன். ³ பராங்குஶன் சூடபன் மரம் அரிசெனி.

⁴ *Purānāñūru*, 2.

⁵ முராஞ்ஜியூர் முடிநாகராயர்.

⁶ முரம்.

⁷ சேவன் பெருஞ்சேற்ற உதிஸூர் சேவன் ஆத.

⁸ ஆல். ¹⁰ குபத்.

number of them were collected in later times into anthologies called *Aganānūru*,¹ *Puranānūru*,² *Narrinai*,³ *Kurundogai*,⁴ etc. These poems, though their vocabulary shows a very slight admixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit words, due to the intercourse of South India with North India ever since the beginning of the Vedic Age, notwithstanding the rivalries between the fire cult of the latter with the fireless cults of the former, are yet entirely free from the influence of Sanskrit literature in the subject matter of poetry and in literary form. These poems undoubtedly reflect the conditions of life peculiar to the ages when they were composed. Unlike the artificial epics of post-Christian Sanskrit literature, these early Tamil poems, which it is now usual to call *sangachcheyyul*⁵ are a mirror of the ages when the poets lived. Catastrophic changes occur in the life of a nation only when there is a violent contact with foreign people of a different stage of culture. As no such event occurred in South India, it is certain that the life-conditions reflected in these old poems are at least partial echoes of those of the previous far off ages which we are now discussing. But at the same time it must be remembered that the evidence of this literature should be pressed into service very cautiously, when we are sure that the customs and manners referred to therein are not later developments but evidently come down from early times.

Besides these anthologies there exists the wonderful grammar called *Tolkāppiyam*,⁶ one book of which, called *Poruladigāram*,⁷ is the grammar of ancient Tamil poetry. This book belongs to the period when Ārya influence had fully penetrated South India; it was composed by *Tṛṇadhūmagni*, a Brāhmaṇa of the Kāppiya (Kāvya) clan, a branch of the Bhārgava Gotra, members of which began to migrate into South India under the leadership of Paraśurāma when he retired from North India after his quarrels with the sons of Arjuna Kārttavīrya (about 2500 B.C.). Tolkāppiyar studied pre-existing grammars written by several previous Tamil *Pulavar*⁸ (scholars), and then composed the *Tolkāppiyam*. But wherever possible he tries to impose the Ārya canon law on the Tamils and to equate Tamil customs, social and literary, to Ārya ones; yet his attempts to mix up Arya and Tamil culture is not much of a success, for the two cultures, one based on the fire cult and the other on the fireless cult, one, the product of a religious aristocracy and the other, of a social democracy, could blend as little as oil and water.

Hence it is easy to separate the Tamil culture embodied in ancient Tamil poetry and in the *Poruladigāram* from the well-known Ārya culture of the Ārya law-books first imported into Tamil country by the early Brāhmaṇa settlers. From these several sources of information it is possible to construct a picture of the life which the Tamil people led from the later Stone Epoch onwards in the ages that may be called Pre-Aryan, of the life that they led and the culture they had evolved independently of any other people, till the large incursions of the Jainas, the Buddhas and the Brāhmaṇas in the first millennium before Christ caused the final blending of the Ārya culture and the

¹ அகானநூர்.

² புரானநூர்.

² புரானநூர்.

⁶ கெள்ளநாபமியக்.

³ சுற்றின்.

⁷ புரானநெர்ரம்.

⁴ கந்தகநூர்.

⁸ குவா.

Tamil culture and the present, mingled culture of South India started on its glorious evolution.

Combining these two sources of information, the pure Tamil *idukuri* words coming down from the early ages and the evidence of early Tamil literature, it is proposed to make further rents in the veil which time has woven round the life led by the Tamils five thousand years ago.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The ancient Tamil people noted that the surface of the habitable portions of the earth could be divided into five natural regions, which they called *Pälai*¹ or sandy desert land, *Kurinji*,² mountainous country, *Mullai*,³ forest tracts, *Marudam*,⁴ the lower river valley, fit for agricultural operations, and *Neydal*,⁵ the littoral region. They noticed that in each region was evolved a different kind of human culture. In *Pälai* grew the nomad stage, in *Kurinji*, the hunter stage, in *Mullai* the pastoral stage, in *Marudam* the agricultural stage, and in *Neydal*, the fishing and sailing stage, of human development. Not only were these different stages of human culture evolved in these different regions, but each stage continued to exist in its own region, after other stages grew in theirs. The men of these regions were respectively called *Maravar*,⁶ *Kuravar*,⁷ *Ayar*,⁸ *Ulavār*,⁹ and *Paravar*.¹⁰ The recognition of the different kinds of life led by these five different classes of men is a wonderful anticipation, made several millenniums ago, of the very modern science of Anthropogeography. This science is the rival of Ethnology. The latter claims to be able to divide men into races with varying permanent physical and mental characteristics, flowing from microscopical bodies called chromosomes which pass from parent to offspring. Notwithstanding heroic efforts for a hundred years to calculate the cephalic index and the co-efficient of racial likeness, ethnologists have not been able to hit on any characteristic, unchangeable mark of race. Anthropogeography, on the other hand, holds that what are called racial characteristics are the result of the action of the environment within which a people grow, which is called the area of characterization of a race. It is remarkable the Tamils reached this idea in remote ages and defined the five natural regions, and classified races as five, each of whom followed professions suited to the region inhabited by them. Besides this horizontal classification, there was a vertical classification of the people of any one region into *Mannar*,¹¹ kings, *Vallal*,¹² petty chiefs, noblemen, *Vellalar*,¹³ owners of fields, *Vanigar*,¹⁴ merchants, all of whom were called *Uyarndor*¹⁵ or *Melor*,¹⁶ the higher classes, and *Vinai-valar*,¹⁷ and *Adiyor*,¹⁸ the working classes and personal servants.¹⁹ This second classification is solely based on the standing of people in society, and is one that has evolved everywhere in the world. On these two classifications, the Brāhmaṇas who carried the Arya cult into Southern India in the first millennium before the Christian era, imposed a third

¹பூர்வ. ²குற்றுக்கி. ³முல்லை. ⁴மருதம். ⁵ஒசுந்தல். ⁶மரவர். ⁷குரவர்.
⁸ஆயர். ⁹மூரவர். ¹⁰பரதவர். ¹¹மன்னர். ¹²வல்லன். ¹³வெல்லர்.
¹⁴வனிகர். ¹⁵உயர்ந்தர். ¹⁶மேலர். ¹⁷வினாவர். ¹⁸அடியர்.

¹⁹Tolkāppiyam, *Poruṭadiḍāram*, i. 21-32.

one, the socio-religious division of the people into four Varnas. This division arose on account of the necessities of the Vedic fire-cult. This cult evolved into a vast system of rites which were celebrated during long periods of time, the Sattrā Yāgas occupying twelve to a hundred years, and required the growth of the Brāhmaṇa Varna, consisting of men who from childhood memorized the immense literature of the Vedas and subsidiary works, the Śruti and the Smṛti, and were trained in the correct performances of the complicated Arya rites and, being experts in the religio-magical ceremonies, acquired a high standing in society. Then there were the Kings of several grades, Chakravartī, Mahārāja, Rājā, who with their blood-relatives formed the Kshattriya Varna, and whose function it was to protect the people and the fire-rite from being oppressed by enemies. For the special benefit of the Kshattriyas, the more gorgeous fire-rites, such as Rājasūya, Abiṣheka, Vājapeya, Aśvamedha, etc., were evolved. The bulk of the people were the Vaiśyas (from *viś*, people) devoted to the ordinary pursuits of man—agriculture, trade and the tending of cattle. The Vaiśyas had the privilege of paying for and deriving the benefits accruing from the minor yāgas which the Brāhmaṇas performed on their behalf. The last Varna included the serving classes, called Śūdras. This fourfold classification is neither regional nor racial, neither social nor professional but one correlated entirely to the fire-rite. When the Brāhmaṇas settled in Southern India and the ancient Tamil Rajas desiring to secure the benefit of the Yāgas, accorded to the fire-priests a supreme position in society, the Brāhmaṇas naturally tried to introduce their socio-religious organization into Tamil society. But a religious oligarchy and a social democracy could not very well mix with each other. Hence the Brāhmaṇas did not succeed in arranging the people of Southern India as members of the four varṇas as they did in North India. The Rajas who actually ruled in the provinces of peninsular India were given the privileges of Kshattriyas with regard to the fire-rites—that of paying for them and deriving the invisible (*adyṣṭha* or *apūrva*) effects of the Yajña and were ever admitted to the Bhāradvāja Gotra; but the scheme of four varṇas necessary to a people, every detail of whose daily life, from urination to cremation, was influenced by the fire-rite, could not well spread among the Tamils, whose life for many millenniums previously was mainly secular and based on social democracy and among whom the Arya fire-rite, as it had lost its vitality before the Brāhmaṇas migrated to Southern India, did not spread. It only led to the confusion of caste and the prevalence of social jealousies that have characterized the life of South India for a thousand five-hundred years; for, we learn from the *Tēvāram*,¹ of Tirunāvukkaraśu Nāyanār,² that there was in his day, as there is to-day, a consciousness of rivalry, if not jealousy, between the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins or, as they were then called, *Ariyan*,³ and *Tamilan*.⁴ The cause of this was

¹ தெவாரம்.² திருத்தாந்தாந்தாயனார்.³ ஆரியன்.⁴ தமிழன்.

ஆரியன் காண்டாய் தமிழன் காண்டாய்.

Tirumariakkādū Tiruttāndagam, 5.

சௌகாந்தாந்தாடி ஆரியனாச் சிரியான.

Tiruvāvadudūrāi Tiruttāndugam, 10.

ஆரியன் மஹிலா டுக்காயானாவன்.

Tirukkālambandūrāi Tirukkurundogai, 3.

as follows: The Brāhmaṇas obtained in India north of the Vindhya, i.e., Āryāvartta, a premier position in society on account of their being the hereditary depository of secular and religious lore, and of being expert in priestly duties and in wielding the words of power (mantras) which almost coerced the gods to grant gifts to those who solicited them. But the Kshattriyas who were quite as learned as the Brāhmaṇas and besides, had the prestige of the royal varṇa, and the Vaiśyas, who were rich burghers and wielded much political influence, acted as a check on the expansion of the privileges of the Brāhmaṇas. In South India, however, the Brāhmaṇas added to the intellectual qualifications they already possessed—scholarship in Tamil literature and ability to compose Tamil poetry.¹ Moreover, there was no true Kshattriya or Vaiśya Varna in South India. Though according to the *Bhagavad Gītā*² agriculture, tending cattle and commerce were the legitimate occupations of the Vaiśyas, the Brāhmaṇas did not extend the Vaiśya status to the Tamils that pursued these avocations in the *Mullai* and *Marudam* regions and did not admit them to the benefits of the fire-rite, even of the domestic variety, which was open to the three higher varṇas. On the contrary they invented for them pseudo-fire-rites, usually called *Purāṇoktam* ceremonies, as opposed to *Vedōktam* rites. An example of this is the addition of circumambulating the fire, *Tīvalāñjeydal*,³ to the ancient marriage ritual of the Tamils, to make it look like the genuine Arya wedding-rite. At the same time the worship of Śiva and Vishṇu in temples, which was evolved from pre-vedic forms of worship and is described in the Agamas, whose vital characteristic is Bhakti, and not Jñāna such as the Vedānta Sutras teach, spread in the Tamil land, because Bhakti which neglects the Varṇa classification appealed to the democratic instincts which got the upper hand after the decay of the fire-rite. Hence the Arya classification of four varṇas never really spread in South India and Tolkāppiyar who laboured hard to equate the several classes of Tamil society to the varṇas of the Aryas carefully avoids the use of the word Śūdra as referring to any section of the Tamils. This brief sketch of the history of Arya ideals in South India explains to a large extent the prevalence of the conflict of caste in the present time.

THE FIVE CLASSES: THEIR MODES OF LIFE AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

In my Stone Age in India has been given a very brief account of the life of the five classes of people in the five regions. A more extensive account will be given here. In the *Pālai* lived the *Kallar*⁴ and the *Maravar*,⁵ nomad tribes of adventurous warriors; as the soil of the region where they dwelt was infertile and totally unproductive, they lived by preying upon the wealth accumulated by the dwellers of other regions. They sacrificed animals and, at times, men too, to the dreaded local god or goddess; these deities have been, in comparatively recent times, idealized and turned into aspects or subordinates

¹ As illustrations Kapilar, Paranar, and the Saint-child Tirujñāna Sambanda Nāyanār may be mentioned.

² *Bhagavad Gītā*, chapter xviii. 44. ³ தெவந்திரேபதன். ⁴ கலர். ⁵ மரவர்.

of the world-mother, *Kāli*¹ or of her husband, *Sivan*.² Many of their sacrificial stones, called in early times *Kandali*,³ have become the objects of worship in shrines which have grown around them. They also planted stones in memory of the heroism of their dead heroes exhibited in wars or on other occasions, and worshipped the stones.⁴

The clubs with which Stone Age men dealt death to their human and animal foes and the bill-hooks with which the later Iron Age men cut up those animals, as well as images of tools cut on stones are still in many shrines the only physical representatives of the gods they worshipped and can to-day be seen not only in *Palai* land but also in all other parts of the country. In later days there were migrations of men and cults from region to region; the various tribes coalesced with each other by marriage and other causes; hence the practices of *Palai* are now observable in the four other regions too.

Ancient worship was inseparably associated with ritual dance. The dance which constituted the worship of *Korravai*, the goddess of victory, is elaborately described in canto xii of *Silappadigaram*, called *Kettuvavari*.⁵ This description contains the later, much developed ritual, but from it one or two ancient factors of the ritual dance can be extracted: 'The priestess who uttered the oracles of *Korravai*,⁶ called *Sālini*,⁷ was born in the family of *Maṇavar*, who bear in their arms a bow. In the high street in the middle of the village which was surrounded by a hedge of thorns and where the hunters ate their food jointly, she danced, being possessed by the goddess, the hair of her body standing on end. She lifted up her arms, and her feet kept time so well that the men wondered at the sight'.⁸ And she uttered

¹ காலி.

² சிவன்.

³ சுதை. This word literally means pillar, being a derivative of சுதை, post, and அறி, straw and therefore probably meant a pillar to which the sacrificial victim was bound with ropes of straw. In later times when nobler conceptions of the deity were reached சுதை was explained as the supreme substance, the Being above all elements of matter.

⁴ They were called சுடக்கடவுள். *Puram* 263 refers to the worship of the memorial stone of a man who stayed a hill-torrent like a dam. Numerous odes celebrate the memorial stones of warriors who died in battle. *Puram* 264 says that the stone was decorated with garlands of red flowers and peacock feathers and the hero's name was engraved thereon.

மால்வஞ்சல் தெருத்தெங்புங் கணவனியே
கணிமயிற் பீலி சுட்டிப் பெயர் பூர்த்தி
தினிட்ட தன்ரே கல்லும்.

Agum 67 says that besides the above a board with a spear fixed on it was placed near and his other implements were also planted near the memorial.

கல்வர்மக் கடந்த சாலூகட மார்த்
பெயரும் பீலி மெழுதிய ஏதர்தெரும்
பீலி சுட்டிய பிரங்குங்கை கடைகல்
வேஷங்கந் பலகை வேற்றமுன்.

Excavations at Moheñjo Daro and Harappa reveal that writing was known in India five thousand years ago; hence it is not surprising to learn that the names and deeds of heroes were incised on stone in early days.

⁵ கோட்டைவரி.

⁷ சுரவனி.

⁸ அழகுவிற் ரட்கைக் கார்க்குட்ட தூயத்துப்
பழங்கட ஆற்ற முழங்குவாய்ச் சாவினி
தெய்வ குற்ற மெய்மயிர் நிறத்தக
சையெடுத் தேர்ச்சிக் கணவர் வியப்ப
விழுப் பேலி வெயினர்கூட் உண்ணு
சுப்புர மாற்ற குக்குப்பூத்த தடு.

Lines 6-11.

warnings about the disasters that would overtake the villages for not having paid their dues to the goddess. In the mountainous country, called *Kuriñji* lived the *Kuravar*, famous in later literature as the heroes of romantic love at first sight; they led the semi-nomad life of the hunter; they hunted with the bow and the arrow and fought wild animals with the *Vel*.¹ They cut up and skinned the animals they hunted and wore the untanned hide as their dress. They were also brave warriors.

Their women in the earliest days were clad in nothing but the atmosphere around or in hides or in *Maravuri*,² tree-flay, or in leaf-garments, called in Tamil, *talai-udai*.³ Hence arose the custom of presenting a garment made of leaves and flowers to the bride as a symbol of marriage, as in Malabar to-day presenting a *Mundu*,⁴ short piece of cloth, to the bride is still the chief incident of the wedding-rite.⁵

These women wove baskets and made many other articles with the strips of the bamboo, occupations still followed by *Kuravar* throughout Southern India. Their favourite god was *Murugan*,⁶ the God of the Hills, who has throughout the ages remained essentially a god enshrined on hill-tops, notwithstanding later affiliations with post-Vedic mythology. As Lord of the Hills, the abode of serpents, he reveals himself even to-day to his devotees in the form of a serpent. The hill country being at all times the home of romantic love at first sight, he was, and continues to be to-day, the boy-lover, the *Seyon*,⁷

¹ கேல்.

² மரவுரி.

³ தழைஉடை.

⁴ முந்து.

⁵ The following are a few of the references to the practice of the presentation of a leaf-garment, *talai udai* in the early literature.

தீசிப் பெருங்குண்டு சனைப்புத்த குவணக
கும்பவிற் முழுதூற் புரங்வர எல்குல்.

Puram. 116.

The lap from which is dangling the leaf-garment made of the whole blossom of the water-lily which grows in deep springs of sweet water with its sepals open.

அனிய தாமே சிறுவென் ஏதும்
விணைய மரகந் தழையா யின்சே
இனியே பெருவாக கொழுங் மாய்க்கினைப் போழுதயத்
தின்கு வைக வூண்டலு
மல்லிப் படேம் புல்லாவனவே.

Ib. 248.

May it be blessed ! the little, white water-lily, when I was young, served for a leaf-garment ; now, when my excellent husband is dead, the hour of meals is changed, it provides me with my food during the melancholy mornings.

குஞ்சாட
ஆடுகுஞ் தழைத் தன்சே மதையை
முடிப்பின் மரங்கு கதமே சேருப்பிற்
சேஞ்சைக் கேட்டு ஏதமே.

Narrinai. 359.

The hill-chief gave me a leaf-garment ; if I wear it, I am afraid I cannot satisfactorily answer the questions my mother will ask me about it ; if I return it to him I am afraid it will cause him pain.

நழையணி மருங்குன் மகளிர். *Kurundogai.*

The hill-women who wear a leaf-garment at their waist.

The wearers of this garment can still be seen in the hill-regions.

⁶ முருங்கை.

⁷ செகுராட்.

the ever-youthful. When in later ages asceticism came to be a much respected way of life, and ascetics resorted to hills for peaceful meditation, he also became the ascetic god. Coming down from ages when man had not yet invented clothes, he is in many of his manifestations a naked god. Worship of the gods was in ancient days inseparably associated with ritual dancing, as is still the case with primitive people all over the world ; and the ancient worship of Murugan was the dance called *Veriyādal*¹ or *Vēlāndal*,² performed by his priest, who, like his god, was called, *Vēlan*,³ for both of them carried the weapon of the hill region, the *Vēl*, a spear, which in the stone age had a stone spear head and, on the discovery of iron, had a head made of that metal.⁴

The worship of Murugan included the offering of cooked rice and meat for the removal of ills caused by that god. 'O !' old *vēlan*, intoxicated with the spirit of Murugan ! control the anger and help us. I beg one favour of you. If you offer along with many-coloured boiled rice the meat of a red sheep specially killed for the purpose, after marking her forehead (with its blood), will the god of the hill high as the sky who wears a garland eat the *bali* (and be pleased) ?

In later times when religion in India developed noble concepts, attained giddy heights of supreme devotion and breathed the soul-satisfying atmosphere of philosophical insight, highly advanced associations

1 தெற்பாடல்.

முருகயங்கது வந்த முதுவரம் வேலன்
சினை லோம்புமதி வினாவத லுடையேன்
பல்வே ரூருவிற் சில்லவிழ் மகடதெட்டு
சிரமற் கொன்றிவ ணாதுத ள் வி
வாங்கினை கொடுத்தி யாயி ணாக்கிய
வின்டோய் மாமிஸ்க் கிலம்ப
கெண்டூ ரகலழு முண்ணுமேர பலியே.

Kurundogai 362.

2 செலஞ்சு.

3 வேலன்.

* This is a brief description of *Veriyādal* is from *Maduruikkāñji*. ll. 611-617.

அருங்கடி வேலன் முருகொடி வளைகு
யரிக்க டன்னியங் கநங்காஸ் விறத்தக
காங்கார்க் குறிஞ்சி குட்க கடம்பின
தீர்மிகு கெடுவேட் பேண்ட தழுவப்பினாகு
மன்றஷ்டாரு வின்ற குரவை சேரிமெறு
முகாயும் பாட்டு மாட்டும் விரைடி
வேட்வேறு கம்பிலை வெற்கொள்பு மயங்கி.

The terrible *Vēlan* proclaimed the might of Murugan and danced around the people ; the sweet-sounding musical instruments sounded in unison; they wore the *Kāñji* (காஞ்சி) flower—*Lawsonia spinosa*—which blossoms in the rainy season, and fixing in their hearts the image of the *Vēl* (வெல்) the lord, who shines with the beautiful *Kcambu* (கெம்பு) flower—*Eugenia racemosa*—embraced one another and caught hold of one another's hands and danced the *Kuravai* (குரவை) dance on the open fields ; all through the village they hymned his greatness, they sang songs in his honour, they danced many dances and the blending of these sounds caused confusion.

The *Vēlan* proclaiming the might of Murugan refers to an ancient ceremony. When a man is in distress he consults the priest of Murugan, who throws about the seeds of the *Kalaṅgu* (காலங்கு) or *Kālarkodi* (காலர்க்கூடி) *Guilandina bonduc*, and from the lay of the seeds on a plate reads the occult cause of the man's trouble and prescribes the worship of Murugan as a remedy. This ceremony is technically called *Kalaṅgu*.

were woven round this and other gods of very ancient times, but yet numerous relics of South Indian religious life of ten thousand years ago are inextricably bound up with the worship of these gods to-day and these indicate the simple, ancient concepts and beliefs and customs of the Tamils of those far off days.

In the wooded tracts called *Mullai*, lived the *Idaiyar*, the men of the middle region, that lies between the uplands and the plains below. They were also called *Ayar* and *Konār*,¹ literally cowboys. They led a merry pastoral life tending cattle and playing on the flute, *kuṭal*, made of the bamboo, or of the stem of the water-lily, or of the cassia fruit or of the creeper jasmine. Besides playing on the flute, they spent their ample leisure in love-making in the forests which afforded ample cover for their amatory proceedings. The god of the *mullai* region was *māyōn*,² the dark-hued wonder-working *Kannan*.³ Their old women sprinkled the paddy from a *nāli*,⁴ tubular corn-measure, along with sweet-smelling *mullai* flowers so that the bees swarmed round and sounded like the *yāl* and then bowed to their god.⁵ Accompanied by children and relatives the crows ate the white balls of cooked rice along with fried *karunai*,⁶ tuber which has dark eyes offered to the God.⁷

The worship of *māyōn* was also associated with innumerable religious dances, which can be observed to-day in cowherd villages when the annual festival in honour of this deity is celebrated. These dances were called *kudam*⁸ or *māyōnādal*.⁹ In Vedic times, Kṛṣṇa, the Sanskrit form of the name Kannan, was a god or as the Rig-veda called him a demon, opposed to Indra. In the Purāṇas, too, there are evidences of an ancient Kṛṣṇa cult opposed to the Indra-cult of the early Rishis.¹⁰ In still later times Kannan became Kṛṣṇa Paramātma, the fullest human manifestation (*Avatāra*) of Iśvara to the Indian people and has everywhere extinguished the worship of Indra. The legends regarding the boyhood life of Kṛṣṇa have certainly come down from the ancient pastoral stage of human evolution, though not then localized in the forest of Brindāvanam. The bulk of cowherds to-day act out many of these legends and keep up the ancient pastoral dances of Kṛṣṇa worship, but are absolutely untouched by the grand philosophical ideas which have gathered round the personality of Kṛṣṇa. I therefore hold that that the ancient god of the pastoral tribes evolved into Kṛṣṇa and not that Kṛṣṇa of the *Bhagavad Gita* deteriorated into a pastoral god in recent times.

The current theory about Kṛṣṇa-worship is that the historical

¹ கொன்ற. ² மாயோன். ³ பண்ணன். ⁴ குடம்.

⁵ யாழிகளை விடவன் உற்சப் பேர்லெடுட
குழி கொண்ட நூலில் முல்லை
சுகும்பலி மலரி துவய்க் காட்டுதாழு
பெருமத பெண்டி. *Mullaiippāṭṭu* 8-11.

⁶ கருனை.

⁷ பின்னை தழிதிக் கிளை பயிர்க்கு
கருங்கட்ட கருங்கைச் செங்கெல்லைக் கோ
குருக்கடப் பல. *Nayrinai* 367.

⁸ குடம். ⁹ மாயோன்டு.

¹⁰This subject is fully discussed in my *Life in Ancient India*, pp. 131-2 and *Stone Age in India*, pp. 50-51.

person of that name, whose boyhood was spent in the pastoral country round Brindāvanam and who, later, as the king of Dārakā, played a great part in the war of the Mahābhārata, was deified and after his death, the Krishṇa cult spread throughout India. In opposition to this theory I hold that the cult of Krishṇa, the boy-cowherd, comes down from the early pastoral stage of Indian life ; it is impossible to believe that the later worship of Krishṇa, associated with the study of his *Bhagavad Gītā*, than which no grander philosophic work has been published to the world, spread to only one caste of South India—the cowherd caste—and became a cult of primitive ritual song and dance. It is much more reasonable to conclude that the primitive song and dance and merry-making which is the Krishṇa-worship of the cowherds is directly descended from the rites of very ancient pastoral times. The name *Kannan* is supposed to be derived from Prākrit *Kanha*, itself a degenerate form of Krishṇa. This kind of etymology is opposed to the fundamental principles of linguistic science, for it makes the absurd assumption that the literary dialect of a language precedes the common spoken dialect, whereas the spoken dialect must have existed for thousands of years before the literary dialect was developed.

To proceed from *Mullai* to *Marudam* ; in the lowermost reaches of the rivers lived the farmers, of whom there were two classes, (1) the *Vellālar*,¹ the controllers of the flood, who irrigated their fields when the rivers were in flood, and raised the rice-crop on damp rice-fields with the extraordinary patience and industry which only the Indian peasant is capable of ; (2) the *Kārālar*,² controllers of the rain, who looked up to the sky for watering their fields, who stored the rain water in tanks and ponds and dug wells and lifted the water by means of water-lifts of different kinds, *erryam*,³ *kabilai*,⁴ *pilā*,⁵ *idā*,⁶ and raised the millets, the pulses and other legumes, which along with the rice of the river valleys and the milk and the milk products (tyre and butter-milk and ghi, *layir*,⁷ *mōr*,⁸ and *ney*⁹) of the *Mullai* region, form, even according to the latest scientific teaching, a perfect food for man containing the muscle-building, heat-generating, and vitamine requisites of a perfect dietary. The *Vellālar* lived in the *Marudam* region, the river-valleys and just outside it lived the *Kārālar*. Beyond these regions where foodstuffs were raised, existed the black cotton-soil developed from the detritus of trap-rock charged with decaying vegetation, and fit for retaining moisture for a long time, and hence suited for the growth of cotton. Here cotton was raised and cotton cloth was woven ; Indian people of the Stone Age possessed an abundance of cotton cloth, as weaving implements of stone testify, when the rest of the world was either sparsely clad in hides, or woven linen or wool, or revelled in primitive nakedness. Hundreds of finds of Neolithic tools required for these industries of the lower river valleys testify to their great development in these regions. These industries of the plains required the subsidiary one of woodwork. The people lived in wood-built houses ; their granaries were made of wood ; they used wooden carts, not different in build from the creaking ones now used for transport and numerous household utensils made of wood like tubs, mortars, pestles, etc. ; and all the tools now used by the

¹ காரார். ² வெல்லார். ³ ஏற்பாடு. ⁴ செலை. ⁵ பிழர். ⁶ இடர். ⁷ தயிர். ⁸ மூரி. ⁹ நீர்.

village carpenter, but made of stone, as well as tools for stone-work, have been picked up from neolithic settlements. The chief god of the low country was the cloud-compelling lord of the atmosphere, who, as Indra, became also the chief recipient of the offerings made in the Vedic fire-sacrifices throughout North India; but in South India Indiran was the god only of the ploughland. Besides he was worshipped by the people with the fireless rites detested by the Āryas. Here 'he was the God residing in the land where, with toddy and garlands as offerings, the straight-horned and hanging eared goat is led to him'.¹ In Āryan India Indra was but the most prominent of the many gods worshipped by Brāhmaṇa priests, for their own benefit and the benefit of others, by means of fire-rites in sacrificial halls specially built for the purpose, Rājas and Vaiśyas having but the privilege of paying for the rites without officiating at them; but in South India Indiran was the sole god of the *Marudam* region and his worship was conducted without fire-rites and in it participated men of all castes and occupations, even men of the lower classes who would not be admitted even for menial service in *yajña sālās* and women of all ranks. Indra worship in South India was accompanied by merry-making, and love-making of all kinds. Moreover the festival of Indiran was specially associated with lovers' quarrels and reconciliations, *adal*² and *kūdal*³ and with special varieties of dancing. The modern Pongal feast is a relic of the harvest-festival associated with Indiran, as the name *bōgi pāndigai*.⁴ Indiran-feast shows,⁵ bōgi being a name of Indiran.

So great is the prejudice in favour of the North Indian origin of everything connected with religion that to claim the Indiran of *Marudam* as a Tamil God independent of the Indra of the Āryas is sure to raise as violent a burst of opposition as Indra's own burst of the thunder-cloud. To support the claim here made I offer the following considerations : (1) The people of the *marudam* regions of South India must have had an atmospheric god from about the end of the old Stone Age when they learnt to till the ground and sow seeds for raising foodstuffs, for their existence depended on such a god manifesting himself in the hot weather and striking the clouds with his thunderbolt so as to pour the life-giving rain on their thirsty fields. (2) To deny them an Indiran of their own would be to say that they had from time immemorial another god of the same functions till about 2,000 years ago, when they borrowed the name of the chief God of the Ārya fire-rite, and that, after that fire-rite had almost become extinguished in Āryāvarṭa and after Indra had been superseded in popular estimation by Siva, Viṣhṇu, and Ambā. One is tempted to vary the joke about the author of the *Iliad*, that it was not composed by Homer but by another poet of the same name, and say that

¹ கன்னியகிரி புது தெகுறையாறு
விலைக்கோட்டை வெள்ளை கால்சேலிக் கட்டாய்
சிலத்தழைக் கடவுள். Agam, 156.

கடவுள்.

*பேரவைப்பண்ணக்கூடம்.

²The utter difference between Indra-worship in North India and the இந்திர விஷாய of South India can be realized by a study of canto v of *Silappadigaram* இந்திர விஷாய ஏராட்ச சாஸ்த, which is too long to be quoted here.

the Stone Age Tamils did not worship Indiran but another God of the same name and the same functions. The theory becomes more absurd if, with European scholars, it is held that Indra the God *par excellence* of the monsoon area was at first the God of the non-monsoon tracts outside India, that he was then taken into Northern India by Aryan emigrants and lastly, after a few thousand years' stay there, he leisurely migrated to the *marudam* region of Tamil India, where he was being worshipped by the people for many thousand years, previously by some name unknown, which name was suddenly extirpated without a trace by the newly imported name. (3) The South Indian Indiran-cult was in every one of its details and practices utterly different from the Vedic Indra-cult as pointed out above. (4) If South India borrowed Indiran from the Aryas, there is no reason why he should have his jurisdiction suddenly contracted and why he should be confined to the *marudam* region and should not have extended to all regions as it did in India north of the Vindhya-s. On the contrary when the Arya concepts spread in South India along with the migration of Brāhmaṇas to the south of the Vindhya-s, the functions of the Aryan Indra were added on to the Indiran of the Tamils, who was thenceafter called *Vēndan*,¹ King of the Gods. It is more reasonable to consider that the Indiran of the *marudam* became also the King of the Gods after the contact of the Tamils with the Aryas than that the extent of his empire was diminished by his invasion of South India. (5) If South India borrowed Indiran from North India, there is no conceivable reason why the ploughmen alone should borrow the God and not the people of other regions, such as *neydal* and *mullai*. (6) The South Indian worship of Indiran was not conducted by an expert caste as in North India. It is inconceivable that as soon as the Brāhmaṇas brought the Indra-cult to South India, they resigned their priestly functions with regard to this deity and his worship became a popular institution in which all castes and both sexes could take part. The Brāhmaṇa-rites and the old Tamil rites have not become mixed up though Brāhmaṇas have wielded supreme religious power in South India for 2,000 years, and though the two have co-existed for 2,000 years. Is it not then absurd to hold that at one moment in the past Indra-rites of North India became inextricably blended with Tamil rites. (7) The worship in each of the five regions consisted primarily in ritual dancing, peculiar to each region. This was accompanied by the singing of tunes, *pāṇ*, special to each tract. There was also a special form of *yāl* for each natural region on which the tunes of that regions were played. In such worship all people, whatever their status, took part, whereas in northern India, even during the performance of royal *yajñas*, such as *Rājasūyam*, Kings could not enter the *yajña sāla* except on one solitary occasion when they were temporarily invested with the rank of a Brāhmaṇa and allowed to make one *ahuti*, offering, in the fire nearest to the gate of the sacrificial hall. How the worship in which the Brāhmaṇa oligarchy alone could officiate could suddenly become a democratic institution it is impossible to conceive. (8) Convincing etymologies of the names of the Gods Krishṇa, Indra, and Varuṇa

from Sanskrit roots have not been found by scholars notwithstanding three thousand years of unexampled ingenuity. Hence there is no linguistic reason to claim that these names originally belonged to the Sanskrit language. (9) The possibility of North India borrowing names of objects and even of Gods from South India has not been investigated at all. There was plenty of intercourse between the people North and South of the Vindhyas in the remote ages. Therefore there is nothing to disprove the notion that the same Gods were worshipped throughout India even before the fire-cult rose to great popularity five thousand years ago. Hence the most probable conclusion is that when the Rishis moulded the Vedic cult they utilized the pre-existing gods and adapted them to their philosophical concepts. Such is what has taken place all over the world in the evolution of religion. Moreover it is only in recent times that the idea rose that Sanskrit, being a perfect language, could not have borrowed names from any other language. The ancient thinkers had no such illusion. *Mīmāṃsā Sutras* I. iii. 9, says, *choditam tu pratiyeta avirodhāt pramāṇena*. This implies that words borrowed from the *mlechchha* languages and used in the Veda ought to be understood in the sense they have in those *mlechchha* languages and not to be ascribed new meanings based on the *nirukta* or etymological speculations. Śabara gives as illustrations of such borrowing *tāmara*, lotus, *pīka*, cuckoo, both Tamil words. I offer the suggestion that many more words were borrowed by Sanskrit from Tamil. Not as a proved conclusion, but merely to challenge enquiry I suggest that the word, so essential to later Sanskrit philosophy, *Māyā*, was coined from a Tamil root-word.

Māyā is a word which occurs in the Vedic *mantras*; there it does not possess the meaning of *Mūlaprakṛiti*, chaotic matter, that which is not *sat*, nor *asat*. In the *mantras* it merely means the wonder-working power exhibited by Indra and other gods. Gradually *Māyā* came to be specially associated with Viṣṇu; in the *Bhagavad Gītā*, Kṛiṣṇa, the incarnate Viṣṇu, speaks of *mama māyā duratyayā*, 'my Māyā difficult to transcend.' So *Māyā* came to mean the power, the magic might wielded by the Supreme Viṣṇu in creating, and sustaining the universe and this is still the meaning of *Māyā* in Vaishnava tradition. In the Śaiva schools *Māyā* became the wife of Śiva, the mighty mother of the universe, being Īśvara's power embodied in manifested matter. In the Advaita schools, she became identified with *Prakṛiti*, matter, which is a reality to embodied beings and vanishes without leaving a trace behind before the vision of him who has seen the light of Ātmā. Hence Advaitins explain it by the jingle *yā mā sā māyā*, who is not, she is *māyā*; this ingenious and impossible derivation could have been invented only, after that incomparable philosopher, Śaṅkarāchārya, definitely and finally connected the word with that which exists as a phenomenon but does not exist as a noumenon. The older meaning of the word, from which this meaning has arisen, was wonder, astonishment, power of magic, cannot be derived from any Sanskrit root; but Tamil possesses a root that exactly suits the word and that is *māy*,¹ to be astonished, to vanish from sight. I am sure

that on a careful study conducted according to the fundamental principles of modern etymological science, many Sanskrit words will be found to be borrowed from those of the languages which prevailed in India in the early Iron Age. At any rate the idea that the gods who were worshipped before the rise to popularity of the Ārya cult were borrowed and ennobled and idealized by the Rishis is not quite so absurd as people imagine.

Now Indra has become extinct in the *marudam* region. Ever since the worship of Siva and Vishnu rose to mighty proportions from the sixth century A.D. onwards, under the inspiration of the singers of the Śaiva *Tevāram* and Vaishnava *Pirabandam*, Indra disappeared. His place of popularity in the minds of the common people, especially of the river-valleys, has been usurped by a non-vedic God, who has no Tamil name but whose worship is most wide-spread in the Tamil country, viz., *Ganeśa* or *Vishvaksēna*, the generalissimo and the remover of difficulties. How this came about I cannot at all explain. I can only note in passing that while Indra was a constant rider on elephants, *Ganeśa* combines in his person human and elephantine features.

From *marudam* I shall now turn to *Neydal*, the littoral region. Here were evolved the occupations of fishing, salt-scraping, salt-manufacture, and the selling of salt, of fresh fish and salted fish; they made canoes, dug-outs and wicker work boats; the *Paradavar* men sailed on the sea, at first hugging the coast, and, later, boldly struck across the black sea, *Karungadal*,¹ and reached far off countries where they exchanged the cotton cloth and timber of South India for scented gums, sugar and other products of foreign lands. Their God was Varuṇan, another deity also invoked in the Ārva rites; but the worship of Varuṇan by the *Valaiñar*,² the men who plied the net, the lowest of the low, was of course very different from the fire-worship of the same deity. 'It is the new moon and the red-haired *Paradavar*³ men have not gone along to fish in the broad, black, cold sea; with their dark-skinned women clad in green-leaf garments, in the midst of their huts, which were built on the sea-beach whose sands smell of fish and which had low roofs on which were placed the long angling rods, on the sands of the front yard on which the nets were spread like a patch of darkness on a moon lit-floor, they planted the horn of the gravid sword-fish and invoked on it their God. They wore (round their neck) garlands made of the cool flowers of the white *Kūdālam*⁴ (a kind of *Solanum*), which grows at the foot of the *Tālai*⁵ (screw-pine), and (on their heads) the flowers of the *tālai*, which has long petals; they drank the toddy from the palmyra which has a rough skin, and also the liquor brewed from rice, and danced. In the noisy part of *Pugār*,⁶ where appearing like a red cloud on a black hill, and like a (red-haired) child at the mother's (black) breast, the Kāviri mixes with the clear and dark waters of the ocean-wave, they bathed to get rid of their sins, and, then, bathed in the river to get rid of the salt on their skins; they hunted for crabs and played in the spreading waves; they made

¹ கருங்கடல்.² வலைக்குர்.³ பரதவர்.⁴ கூடாலம்.⁵ தாலம்.⁶ புகார்.

images ; they were intoxicated with the pleasures enjoyed through many senses and played with undiminished joy throughout the day.¹

After reading this description of Varuṇa-worship it would be foolhardy to derive it from the Vedic Yajña, in which Varuṇa, Indra and Mitra were invoked.

KINGS

The institution of kingship was an ancient one among the Tamils, for several old words exist which mean a king : e.g., *Kon*,² *Endal*,³ *Vēndan*,⁴ *Mannan*,⁵ *Kuriśil*,⁶ *Iraivan* ;⁷ besides, the words *Vallal*,⁸ and *Annal*,⁹ restricted in later usage to nobles or petty chiefs, rulers of small territories, *Kurunilamannar*,¹⁰ but applied to kings also. The government of a people by a king was called *Aṭchi*,¹¹ an abstract noun from the verb *Āl*,¹² to rule over, from the noun *Āl*,¹³ a subject, originally a person. Government was conceived as being similar to a herdsman ruling a herd, helping it to feed and protecting it from enemies. The name *Endal*,¹⁴ (and *Vēndan*,¹⁵ which perhaps is etymologically the same word) is derived from *Endu*,¹⁶ to support, and refers to the chief function of a king, that of protecting his subjects from harm. But the oldest Tamil word for a king is *Kō*,¹⁷ or *Kon*,¹⁸ which also means a cowherd. This implies that kingship arose first in the pastoral stage of the evolution of human life. It is in this stage that men began to acquire wealth, cattle, *pāśu*,¹⁹ *pecu*, being the earliest form of wealth that man could acquire. Pastoral life required that a tribe should settle with its wealth of cattle on a patch of grass-land. Unlike other forms of wealth, cattle and sheep constantly reproduce their kind, and herds always grow in size. The sons of a herdsman may partition the herd belonging to the family among themselves, but the pasture-land cannot thus be partitioned,

¹ கெடுந்துள்ளுவிற் காழ்சேர்த்திய
குறங்கதைக் குடிகாப்ப
ணிலவடைந்த விருஞ்சோல
வலையுணவுக்கு மனால்முன்றில்
வீந்தநாழைத் தாட்டாழ்ந்த
வெண்க தாள்தத் தன்புச் சேஷைப
சிங்கசூலின் சேருடைட்டு
மைசைசேர்த்திய வல்லஊங்கினுன்
மட்டறுழை மவர்மலைக்குத்
பின்ஸர்ப்பெண் ஜைப் பிழிமாங்கினும்
புஞ்சை பிரும்பாதவர்
கைப்பதழைமா மகளிடோடு
பாபிஞும் பனிக்கடல் வேட்டாஞ் செல்ல
துவாமதிந் தன்டாடியும்
புலவமணற் புங்கானன்
யாமலை யைஈட் தெரங்குப் போவாங்
தாம்புலை தழுவிப் புழவி போவாங்
தேறநீப் புணரியேர் டயரத்திலை மயங்கு
மல்போரத் தெவிக்கடற்
ந்துகீங்கக் கடலாடியு
மரக்கோகப் புன்னபடிக்கு
மலை அட்டியு முஷ்டிதை புழக்கியும்
பாவை குழ்க்கும் பல்பொறி மருண்டு
மகளாக காதலெடு பால்விழையாடு.

Pattinappālai, 80, 104.

² சேரன். ³ ஏத்தல். ⁴ வேஷ்டன். ⁵ மன்னன். ⁶ குரிசில். ⁷ திருதைவன். ⁸ வாங்கல்.
⁹ அன்னல். ¹⁰ குறிலமக்னர். ¹¹ ஆட்சி. ¹² ஆஸ். ¹³ கிர். ¹⁴ ஏத்தல். ¹⁵ சேத்தன்.
¹⁶ ஏத்து. ¹⁷ செர. ¹⁸ செரம். ¹⁹ பச.

for, where a small holding of a rice-field may well be cultivated by its owner and arable land may continue to be sub-divided into little plots for generations, pasture-land cannot thus be subdivided, for grass-fields below a minimum size are unfit for pasturing a herd. Hence the joint-family system became a necessity. The patriarch of a tribe thus acquired great influence and became its king. Hence the word *Kō*, cowherd, came to be applied to a king when kingship evolved.

The house where the king resided was the *Kōtai*.¹ As the royal power increased, as the science of warfare developed, the royal residence, *Kōtai*, became a fort. The fort was surrounded by strong walls, *aran*;² hence the fort was called *aranmanai*;³ *aran*⁴ originally meant both beauty and defence, and hence came to be applied to the walls of a fortress, also called *madil*.⁵ These walls were made of mud, mixed with boiled ragi flour and were so strong and elastic that they could resist battering very much better than inelastic brick or stone walls. In the Tinnevelly district there exists even to-day many a *madil* made after the ancient recipe, which are very difficult to pull down. The fort was surrounded by an *agal*,⁶ *agappa*,⁷ or *agali*,⁸ a moat, (from *ag*⁹, to dig, whence the following Tamil words are derived, *Agam*¹⁰ home, inside, mind, the inner life, love, etc., *Agakkāl*,¹¹ heart-wood, *agadu*,¹² inside, *agani*,¹³ interior, heart-wood, also a rice-field dug out of the soil, *agappu*,¹⁴ depth, *agalam*,¹⁵ breadth, *agal*,¹⁶ a bowl, *agavai*,¹⁷ internal quality, *agal*,¹⁸ to dig), *agappai*,¹⁹ a ladle scooped out. The *agal* was also called *udu*,²⁰ *odai*,²¹ *kayam*,²² *kēni*,²³ *parigam*,²⁴ *parigai*,²⁵ *puriśai*²⁶ and *pāmburi*,²⁷ (that which surrounds a fort as closely as the skin round a snake). The wealth of names for the moat shows that it was a very familiar object to the ancient Tamils. The entrance to the fort was called *Kotti*²⁸ and the batter, i.e., receding slope from the ground upwards behind a wall, topped by a flat platform, *Kottalam*.²⁹ *Nāvil*³⁰ is the name of another part of a fortification: what it means is not known clearly. Within the royal residence there were many rooms, each called *arai*,³¹ (from *aru*,³² to cut off), a portion of the house walled off from other portions for special purposes. One of these rooms was the store-room, *Kottarai*,³³ or *Kottadi*,³⁴ (whence perhaps was derived the Sanskrit word *Koshta*). The state-room was the *Koluvarai*³⁵ or *Koluchchāvadi*,³⁶ where the king sat in state on occasions of ceremonial. This was called *koluviruttal*,³⁷ or *Virviruttal*.³⁸ The *Koluchchāvadi* was no doubt decorated with flags³⁹ (*kodi*,⁴⁰ *tugil*,⁴¹ *togai*,⁴² *satti*,⁴³ *kattigai*,⁴⁴ *kadali*,⁴⁵ on these occasions, as well as with flowers and bunting, flowers and leaves playing a large part in South Indian life as will be shown later. On such formal occasions, the king wore a crown. As the crown was called *mudi*,⁴⁶ band, we may be sure that it was a band

¹ கோட்டை. Another early word for a palace was *Kōil*, (கோயில்) which, after the rise of the grand modern temples, became restricted to Gods' houses.

² அரன்.	³ அரங்கமீன்.	⁴ அரை	⁵ மதில்.	⁶ அகல்.	⁷ அபெர.	⁸ அழி.
⁹ அக.	¹⁰ அகம்.	¹¹ அக்கரை.	¹² அகர்.	¹³ அகணி.	¹⁴ அப்பு.	¹⁵ அவம்.
¹⁶ அகல்.	¹⁷ அகவை.	¹⁸ அகல்.	¹⁹ அப்பை.	²⁰ அர்.	²¹ சிடை.	²² எம்.
²³ கேளி.	²⁴ பரிதம்.	²⁵ பரிதை.	²⁶ புரிசை.	²⁷ புரம்புரி.	²⁸ கூரட்டாற்.	²⁹ கூரத்தாற்.
³⁰ குரவில்.	³¹ அவரை.	³² அ.வ.	³³ கூரட்டையர்.	³⁴ கூரட்டாடி.	³⁵ கூரத்தாடி.	
³⁶ கூரத்தாவடி.	³⁷ கூரத்தார்தால்.	³⁸ வீற்றிருத்தல்.	³⁹ Flags used to decorate a street were called <i>vidangam</i> (விடங்கம்).	⁴⁰ சுரிய.	⁴¹ கிள்.	⁴² கிரை.
⁴⁴ சிடை.	⁴⁵ செலி.	⁴⁶ முடி.				⁴³ சுதி.

of gold tied around the forehead, like the gold bands found at Adichchana¹¹ür. Indian crowns of recent ages were tall conical caps of solid gold, imbedded with gems such as now adorn gods when going out on processions; these are so heavy that gods alone can wear them for any length of time, and could not have been worn by the ancient Tamil kings, all the more so as kings, like all other men of the ancient Tamil country, grew a whole head of hair. Shaving was unknown in South India and was introduced by the Āryas; this is proved by the fact that there is no proper, ancient Tamil name for the barber, and there are only words derived from the Sanskrit, like *paryāri*,¹ *ambattan*,² *nāvidan*,³ *mangali*⁴ or descriptive compounds like *mayirvinaiyālan*⁵ (hair-dresser), *māsutīrppōn*,⁶ (one who puts an end to a hairy check). Moreover, throughout the interior of South India, people who have not taken to Aryan or European customs do not even now patronize barbers.

Wearing a crown and gold bracelets round the wrist, above the elbow and the ankles, (*Kālal*)⁷ furnished with tinkling bells, (*sadangai*),⁸ garlands of pearls, *muttu*,⁹ coral, *pavalam*,¹⁰ and rings, *Kanaiyāli*,¹¹ the king, during darbar, *Kolu*,¹² was seated on a throne; this was called *Kattil*,¹³ and, as this name implies, was a construction of boards tied together to form a seat. Pillows, *ariyai*,¹⁴ supported his back. Surrounded by his personal servants, *adiyār*,¹⁵ *ūliyar*,¹⁶ by heralds who proclaimed his greatness, *agavar*,¹⁷ and by *valluvar*,¹⁸ publishers of royal orders, and *pānar*,¹⁹ poets who sang the praises of the king, with nobles, *vallal*,²⁰ *annal*,²¹ seated in front of him, and the common people, *ātkal*,²² standing respectfully at a distance, the king heard complaints, dispensed justice and conducted state affairs of all kinds. The king often went out on processions, seated in a chariot, *ter*.²³ Other names for it were *ari*,²⁴ *kavari*,²⁵ *kuyavu*,²⁶ *kūviram*,²⁷ *tigiri*,²⁸ *vaiyam*.²⁹ The royal chariot was certainly well-decorated with wood carving, for this art was practised from lithic times: the conical top of a chariot, carved to look like a lotus was called *kūmbu*,³⁰ *kūviram*,³¹ *kodiñji*.³² The middle of a chariot was called *tattu*,³³ or *nāppan*;³⁴ its floor, *pār*,³⁵ the boards around its body, *kidugu*,³⁶ its spoke, *ār*;³⁷ the raised platform with steps near the car, from the top of which it is possible to step into the car, *muṭti*,³⁸ or *pirambu*.³⁹ The existence of so many names shows what an important institution the royal car was, as the temple car is now, for all the appurtenances of temple-idols are but adaptations of royal paraphernalia. The only difference between the royal car and the temple car is that the latter is drawn by human beings who desire to participate in the virtue of dragging it, but the former was drawn by bulls (*kālai*,⁴⁰ *erudu*,⁴¹ *vidai*,⁴² *iyal*,⁴³ *ēru*,⁴⁴ *kundai*,⁴⁵ *kuli*,⁴⁶ *kottiyanam*,⁴⁷ *kō*,⁴⁸ *che*,⁴⁹ *pāgadu*,⁵⁰ *pāndil*,⁵¹ *pāral*,⁵² *pullam*,⁵³ *pūni*,⁵⁴ *perram*,⁵⁵ *pōttu*,⁵⁶ *mūri*),⁵⁷ or by the elephant (*yānai*,⁵⁸ *kaliru*).⁵⁹ There are

1பாரை.	2அம்பட்டன்.	3ஏவிதார்.	4மங்கலி.	5முக்கியபாரான்.
6மாசத்தெரூர்.	7ஏல்.	8ஏங்கை.	9ஏத்த.	10ஏழம்.
12ஏரலு.	13ஏட்டு.	14ஏரியண.	15ஏட்டர்.	16ஏழிர.
18ஏஞ்சு.	19ஏரை.	20ஏஞ்சல்.	21ஏஞ்சனல்.	22ஏட்கன்.
25காலி.	26குபா.	27குவா.	28கிளி.	29கவயம்.
32காட்டுஞ்சி.	33கட்டு.	34காப்பன்.	35கார்.	36கட்டு.
39ப்ரம்பு.	40காஸ்.	41கருத.	42கிகட.	43கிரு.
46களி.	47காட்டுப்பம்.	48கெ.	49கே.	50கெ.
53புல்லம்.	54புணி.	55குப்பம்.	56கூறது.	7கரி.
				58பாஷ.
				59காபி.

about twenty¹ other names for this favourite animal, belonging to Tamil alone, besides several others for the male animal and several more for the female. The cars were decorated with flags and trappings, (*terchchilai*).²

The royal revenue, besides the proceeds from the royal lands, were derived from taxes (*vari*),³ tolls, (*sungam*,⁴ *ulgu*,⁵ *irai*),⁶ and tributes (*kappam*,⁷ *parisu*,⁸ *tirai*).⁹

LOVE

The chief royal occupations or amusements (for in the case of kings, it is difficult to distinguish amusements from occupations) were love and war, both of which formed the subject of innumerable odes sung by the early bards. Love and war were respectively called *agam*¹⁰ and *puram*,¹¹ the inner life which one cannot share with other men and the outer life of action which other men can appreciate and admire. The love of kings and other men was of two kinds. (1) Love at first sight, so impetuous as to lead to immediate consummation, called *kalavu*,¹² to be leisurely legitimatized by a formal marriage, (*manam*,¹³ *manyal*,¹⁴ *varaivu*,¹⁵ *vettal*)¹⁶. (2) Post-nuptial love, called *karpu*.¹⁷ The course of love, pre-nuptial or post-nuptial, furnished the bards with innumerable incidents fit for poetic treatment and this is the subject of three chapters of the grammar of poetry, called *Poruladigāram*,¹⁸ of *Tolkāppiyam*, viz., *Agattinaiyiyal*,¹⁹ (referring to both),²⁰ *Kalaviyal*,²¹ *Karpiyal*.²² The chief incidents of the course of both forms of love, viz., the first catastrophic meeting of the lovers called *iyarkaippuṇarchchi*,²³ their waiting in expectation of meeting each other, *iruttal*,²⁴ lamentations for temporary separation *irangal*,²⁵ brief and long quarrels and reconciliations, *pulavi*,²⁶ *ūdal*²⁷ and *kūdal*,²⁸ and the parting of lovers, *piridal*,²⁹ were respectively correlated to the five natural regions, *Kurinji*, *Mullai*, *Neydal*, *Marudam* and *Pälai*. The fact that Tamil literary conventions arose absolutely independent of the literary conventions of the Vedic and other early Sanskrit literature, shows that the correlations of the incidents of love with natural regions, peculiar to Tamil poetry, were based on actual customs which prevailed among the Tamil people in the third millennium B.C., and earlier. We can understand how these customs, i.e., social conventions, on which the literary conventions were based, first arose. The romantic scenery of Kurinji land is the greatest stimulus of love and the opportunities it affords for immediate consummation fans the flame of impetuosity which is the special characteristic of Kurinji love. Pre-nuptial love must have been the norm in the mountainous region, and the life of the hunter. In the Mullai region, the herdsman-lover had to be separated all day long from the mistress of his heart and hence the waiting of lovers for each other was associated with this region. In the Neydal, the woman has to sit desolate for days together, when her lover has gone on a voyage attended with risks to

¹Such as அங்கு, ஆம்பல், இம்மடி, உம்பல், உவர், ஏற்முபு, ஒருத்தல், ஒஞ்சல், கடிலை, கண்வன், கையடி, கைப்புலி, கைம்மலை, கைம்மர, செர்ட்டமூர், சங்டாலி, குகை, திண்டி, நுழி, தும்பி, துங்கல், தெள்ளி, தெரு, தால்வார், துறில், பசுமி, பசுமி, புச்சுமோ, புழக்கை, பூட்டகை, பெருயர், பெருங்கடி, மருங்கை, மருமலி, மரும், வயமர், வஸ்விலங்கு, வழகை, வேழம். ²தெங்கலீ. ³வரி. ⁴கங்கம். ⁵கலூர். ⁶கிளர். ⁷கப்பம். ⁸பரிச். ⁹கிதைர். ¹⁰அஶம். ¹¹புறம். ¹²களை. ¹³மண்ட. ¹⁴மண்டல். ¹⁵வரைவு. ¹⁶வேட்டல். ¹⁷கற்பு. ¹⁸பெருங்கிராம. ¹⁹அகத்தினையில். ²⁰புறத்தினையில். ²¹களவில். ²²கற்பியல். ²³இயற்கைப்புஜார்ச்சி. ²⁴ஒருத்தல். ²⁵இரங்கல். ²⁶புலி. ²⁷ஷடல். ²⁸ஷடல். ²⁹பரிதல்.

far off lands, and hence Neydal symbolizes the lamentations of lovers. So Pälai, the desert region, where the lovers have necessarily to part company, aptly symbolizes the separation of lovers. In Marudam, people led a settled agricultural and industrial life and they could enjoy longer periods of lazy leisure than the people of other regions. Hence the formal Tamil marriage-rite was evolved in Marudam.

MARRIAGE

The ancient wedding-rite is described in the following two odes from *Agam*. ‘There was a huge heap of rice cooked with pulse (even after many guests were fed). On the floor of a pandal built on long rows of wooden columns was spread freshly brought sand. House-lamps were lighted. Flower-garlands were hanging. It was the morning of the day of the bright bent (crescent) moon, when the stars shed no evil influence. Then women bearing pots on the head, others carrying new broad begging bowls handed them over one after another, fair elderly dames making much noise the while. Then four women, mothers of sons, with their pudenda marked with natural beauty-spots, wearing beautiful ornaments, poured water on the bride, so that her black hair shone bright with cool petals of flowers and rice-grains (which had been mixed with the water) and at the same time blessed her, saying, ‘Do not swerve from the path of chastity, be serviceable in various ways to your husband who loves you’. On the night of the day after that of the celebration of the marriage, the neighbouring ladies assembled and said to the bride, ‘Become the mistress of a great house’, and she went in trepidation to the bed-room dressed in new clothes.’¹

‘Having boiled the rice free from all impurities and mixed ghi with it, they served it to the elders. The auspicious birds flew in the bright, beautiful, broad sky. The asterism Rohini was in conjunction with the moon. They decorated the house which was free from dirt, and worshipped God. The big drum sounded, the marriage-volley was beaten. The women who desired to witness the marriage assembled in haste. The flower-eyed goddesses witnessed the marriage and disappeared. They strung on white thread the double leaf of the *agatti* which has soft flowers, many blades of the *arugai*-grass which

¹ உழுங்குதலைப் பெய்த கொழுங்களி மிதவை
பெருக்கோற் றஸி சிறப் பிளகார்
நன்னபெரும் பந்தாக் தருமணன் இழுமிரி
யனைவிடக் குத்தக் மாலை தெட்டிக்
கணைபிரு என்ற கவிக்கூடு காலைக்
கேராக்க லீங்கிய கொடுவென் டுஞ்சு
கேடுல் விழுப்புக்கு ஏடலை வக்கதன
ஏச்சிக் குத்தார் புத்தன் மண்ணைப்பா
பொதுசேப் கும்பலை முதுசெம் பெண்டிக்
முன்னும் பின்னால் முறைமுறை தாத்தப
புதல்வற் பயங்க திதையல் வழிற
வாவிகை மக்கிர் கால்வர் கடிக்
கற்பினிக் வழாது ஏற்பல் அதவிப்
பெற்றேர் பெட்டும் பின்னாலை யாகென
கீரூடு கொரிக்க லீரித மலரி
பல்லிரும் கதப்பி ஜெல்லெடு தபங்க
வதுவ கண்ணால் கழித்த பின்னைத்
கல்லென் கம்மையட் கேருகேரெப் புகுத்த
பேரிர் கிழத்தி யாகெனத் தமித்த
கோரிர் கடிய ஏடங்குணர் எங்குற
கேரும்புறம் வள்ளுக் கேடுக கலிங்க
கேடுகுக்கொன்.

the calf eats, and the young flowers of the blue water-lily which are like clean gems when the sounding rain-drops fall from the sky and adorned the bride with these garlands. Underneath a pandal strewn with sand which was cool as if rain had fallen on it, the relatives of the bride gave her away.¹ In the ancient marriage-rite there was no circumambulation of fire, *tivalam seydal*,² which Brähmaṇa purohitas of later ages invented in imitation of the wedding-rite of the higher varnas and introduced into the marriage-ritual of the Tamils.

In the agricultural region, there also arose *küttiyan*³ and *vijaliyan*,⁴ dancing-women and singing women, who were ladies of easy virtue and lived the life of *hetairae*, the *parattaiyan*,⁵ who brought to a premature end the course of wedded love. Hence *ūdal* and *kūdal*, estrangement and reunion between husband and wife, was correlated to Marudam.

Besides these five incidents of normal love, there also existed, among the ancient Tamils, two forms of abnormal love, viz., *Kaikkilai*,⁶ love of a man for an immature girl incapable of feeling the gentle passion, and *Perundinai*,⁷ love of a man for a woman who does not reciprocate his love; in such a case, the man maddened with passion, made a horse of the sharp-edged stem of the palmyra, provided it with wheels and rode through the streets, bleeding, till the lady relented, or committed suicide if she did not, a proceeding technically called *Madalerudal*⁸; these are also described in many odes.

They make, of the stem of a palmyra leaf, a horse which does not require fodder, and attach to it reins adorned with small bells; the hero, wearing a garland of the short flowers of the *erukku*,⁹ *calotropis gigantea*, mounts it. We drag the horse along the streets and boys gather behind and follow the procession.¹⁰

Wearing a garland in which the fresh flowers of the *āvirai*,¹¹ *cassia auriculata*, which resemble gold in colour, are strung on many threads,

1. வைப்புறம் புதுகி தெங்கனி வெள்ளேற
வரையர வண்ணமொடு புதையேறப் பேணிப்
புஞ்சுப் புணர்க்கினிப் பாகத் தெங்களோனி
பங்க எனிருவிசம்பு லிங்கந்த் திங்கட்
சுடாம் வேங்கடிய தகார் கட்டத்துக்
கட்டகர் புணர்க்கு கடவுட பேணிப்
பழுமண முழுவொடு பருஷப்பினை விழு
ஏதுவ மன்னிய மகளிர் விதப்புறநுப்
பூக்கனு மியையர் சேங்குபு மதைய
மெங்கு வாரைப் புஞ்சுரக் கவட்டிலை
பழுங்கனு கற்கும் பயம்பம் வறைகந்
தழங்குகூல் வாளின் நல்லபொற் கீங்கு
மன்னுமணி பன்ன மாம்தழப் பாகவந்
தண்ணாற் முகையொடு வெண்ணால் சூட்டித்
ஆவுடைப் பெருவ்க்கு மேவாத் துவங்கி
மழுபட் டன்ன மணல்மலி பாத்
கிறைபணி சிறப்பிற் பெபச்சியப் பாற்றித்
தம்ரைக் கீங்கு தலைகான்.

2. மருத பார்ப்பான் மதைவழி காட்டிடத்
தீவெஞ் செய்வது.

3. கந்தியர். 4. விரலியர். 5. பாத்தகையர். 6. கைக்கிணி. 7. பெருக்கிணி. 8. மடலேந்தல். 9. ஏரு

10. சிறமணி தொடர்க்கு பொருங்கங்க் கிற்குக்
குருகு மெருக்கங் கண்ணி குடு
புஞ்சு கண்மாப் பண்ணி பெழுமுடன்
மாகுடன் நிரிதகு சிறஞ்ச மாக்கன்

Agam 136.

Silappaadigāraṇi i.

Narrinai 220.

11. ஜிவிர.

he rides the horse made of (the stem of the leaf of) the palmyra, shame torturing his mind.'¹

'Should I one day wearing a garland of gems on my breast and decorated with bones, go along the streets, without shame and ridiculed by others?'²

These seven *tinais* constitute the *Agattinai*, the class of poems celebrating love.

WAR

The other subject of ancient poetry was war. The wars of ancient Tamil kings were not inspired by earth-hunger, for we find, throughout the ages, the boundaries of the Sera, Sola, and Pandya kingdoms were intact. Wars were undertaken either as affording exercise for the development of martial virtues or for the purpose of achieving, by personal prowess, supremacy in rank and the title of the liege lord of the Tamil country and for the privilege of wearing the triple crown, *Mummudi*.³ Wars were undertaken in the season which followed the harvest, when the king and the subjects had no more agricultural work to do before the next rainfall. Warlike operations were divided into five, namely, *vetchi*,⁴ *vañji*,⁵ *uliñai*,⁶ *tumbai*,⁷ *vāgai*,⁸ respectively corresponding to *kurinji*, *mullai*, *marudam*, *neydal* and *palai*. It will be noticed that all these ten are the names of flowers and each flower symbolizes the incident which is named after it. Each of these incidents, called *tinai*,⁹ subdivided into *turai*,¹⁰ were celebrated by people wearing garlands of flowers appropriate to it. Thus we find that the Tamils noted and named hundreds of flowers and dedicated each of them with their leaves and twigs to some separate life-situation, which they celebrated by decorating their persons with garlands of those leaves and flowers, by singing measures and dancing dances specially appropriate to each of them. The passion the Tamils had for wearing garlands, symbolic or otherwise, is further indicated by the fact that there are several words meaning garland, *kanji*,¹¹ *tār*,¹² *todaiyal*,¹³ *alangal*,¹⁴ *kodai*,¹⁵ *teriyal*.¹⁶ This ancient love of flowers is

¹ பெருக்கே ராவிகாப் புதமலர் மிகட்டத்
பன்னான் மரலைப் பணைபடு கவிமப்
பூங்மணி கறங்க வேற் சுறைப்
பழபட ருண்ணேப் பழிவழி சிறப்ப
Kurundogai 173.

² விழுத்தலைப் பெண்ணை விழையன் மாமடன்
மணியணி பெருக்கார் மரப்பிற் பட்டு
வெங்களன் பணித்துப்பிற் ரெஞ்சு சோஞ்சு
பொருசோன் மருங்கிற் பெருகாலைக்கிற
தெருவினியலாக் தகுவது தெருவ்ளே?

Ib. 182.

³ முழுமுடி. ⁴ வெட்டி. ⁵ வஞ்சி. ⁶ தாவறிமை. ⁷ தம்மப். ⁸ வாரம். ⁹ தினை.
¹⁰ துறை. ¹¹ கண்ணி. ¹² தார். ¹³ தெருவையல். ¹⁴ அலங்கல். ¹⁵ சேருதை. ¹⁶ தரிபல்.
There are sixteen other names for garlands, which shows what great love the Tamils have for personal decoration with flowers. This is further indicated by the fact that garlands had differentiated names; thus, a garland for the face was *ilambagam*,¹ *sūtū*,² for the hair-knot, *karōdigai*³; a garland where the flowers were tied together, *śigaligai*,⁴ *todaiyal*,⁵ *mālai*,⁶ *vāsigai*,⁷ a plaited garland, *pīnaiyal*;⁸ a strung garland, *kōvai*,⁹ *paðalai*,¹⁰ *vāsigai*.¹¹
¹ இலம்பகம். ² சூடு. ³ கரோடிகை. ⁴ சிக்கிமை. ⁵ தெருவையல். ⁶ மாலை. ⁷ வார்தை.
⁸ பணையல். ⁹ சேருதை. ¹⁰ படலை. ¹¹ வார்சிகை.

being slowly choked out, especially in towns, by the pressure of the drab civilization of Europe, which is robbing us of many simple joys coming down from ancient times, when the love of flowers was so strong as to lead the Tamils to adopt flowers and leaves even as the distinctive uniforms of soldiers. In the battle-fields, the soldiers of each of the three great Tamil dynasties of kings could be distinguished from each other only by the garlands they wore. Thus the Pāndya soldiers were decorated with the leaves and flowers of the *Vembu*,¹ Margosa, the Sola soldiers, with those of the *Attī*² or *Ār*³, *Bauhinia racemosa*, and the Šera soldiers, of the *Panai*,⁴ the palmyra. The early literature, and especially the *Tolkāppiyam*, contains frequent references to the symbolic use of leaves and flowers, and these prove that the ancient Tamils led a happy life of constant merry-making unoppressed by a too pessimistic view of the world and of man's destiny and that they were inspired by a love of nature superior in strength to that of other peoples, ancient or modern.

Of the five subdivisions of *Puram*, *Vētchi*, the first, refers to the preliminary lifting of the enemy's cattle, and confining them in a pen in one's own country, which was the ancient method of the declaration of war. This proves that kingship, like formal war, began in the pastoral stage of life. As large herds of cattle are kept in the hilly region, *Vētchi*, corresponds to *Kurinji*. *Vañji* corresponds to *Mullai*; it deals with the expedition into the enemy's country, which has necessarily to pass through the wooded country surrounding the lower river valleys, where forts were built for storing in safety the accumulated agricultural and metallic wealth.

Ulinai has for its subject the siege of the forts, and especially the capital, of the enemy king, situated in the heart of the *Marudam* region. *Tumbai* refers to the fierce fighting which succeeds the mastery of the fort-walls, and *Vāgai*, the final victory. As *Agattinai* has on the whole seven subdivisions, so two more have been added to *Purattinai*, viz., *Kañji*,⁵ which generally deals with the transitoriness of earthly pleasures in general and the vanity of military glory in particular, the first touch of asceticism which was destined to overwhelm Indian life from the middle of the first millennium before Christ, and *Pādān*,⁶ the last of the *Purattinai*, which contains poems praising the munificence of kings and nobles towards the poets who sought their patronage.

As it was love of display of prowess and of glory that drove the ancient Tamils to war, there is no doubt that fighting was an annual institution, undertaken in the season between the gathering of the harvest and the starting of the tillage for the next year. War was called *pōr*,⁷ *sāndai*,⁸ *seru*,⁹ *muran*,¹⁰ *tevvu*,¹¹ and by about twenty other words.¹² This wealth of words meaning war indicates that it was a favourite amusement with the ancient Tamils, amusement because the object of ancient war, like that of wrestling, *mar pōr*,¹³ which was thus a variety of *pōr*, was not for satisfying the lust for bloodshed, but for proving strength and skill. The field of battle was called *kañam*,¹⁴

¹ வெங்கு. ² ஆத்தி. ³ ஆர். ⁴ பனை. ⁵ செஞ்சி. ⁶ புரட்டினம். ⁷ சூரி. ⁸ சங்கல்
கோ. ⁹ கோவி. ¹⁰ முரு. ¹¹ தெவு. ¹² அமர், ஆர்ப்பு, இகல், உறம்பு, சீணபு, சுதாம், கலி,
கும்பு, கட்டம், சும், குட்டு, சுக்கு, திரு, தும்மை, நிகம், நிகர்ப்பு, பண்டைம், மலைப்பு, மலை,
பூல், முசு, மூர்சு, விரப்பு, வின். ¹³ மர்சூர். ¹⁴ காநம்.

kalari,¹ *parandalai*,² *mudunilam* ;³ these words also indicate waste uncultivated land,⁴ on which contests of all kinds took place and show that war did not imply the ruination of crop-bearing land. The army, *padai*,⁵ *tānai*,⁶ was divided into various groups, *ayi*,⁷ *undai*,⁸ *ottu* ;⁹ the front ranks were *akkam*,¹⁰ *kodippadai*,¹¹ *tār*,¹² *tūsi*,¹³ *nirai*,¹⁴ and the back ranks, *kūlai*.¹⁵ This shows that military science was not unknown to the Tamils.¹⁶ In later times the army was divided into four sections, chariot-warriors, elephant-warriors, horse-warriors, and foot-soldiers. Of these all but the horse-arm came down from ancient times. South India was not the home of the horse and has always imported horses from the valley of the Sindhu, from Persia and other countries. But there is no doubt that the elephant was used from early times both for royal ostentation and military purposes. ‘The warrior sits on an elephant, which looked like the god of death (*marali*). He has a broad and high breast, covered with a coat made of the tiger’s skin, which the volley of arrows cannot pierce. The elephant resembles the ship that passes on the sea, the moon which moves among the stars; it is surrounded by armed *maravar* like sharks, and is so excited as not to recognize its mahout.’¹⁷ The elephants were skilfully trained and carefully looked after by the *pāgan*,¹⁸ tied to posts, *kandu*,¹⁹ *tāri*,²⁰ in the *alai*,²¹ elephant-house, and fed with palmyrah trunks, rice and jaggery; they were bathed in tanks or rivers, their face painted with vermillion and decorated and armoured with face-plates, *ōdai*,²² *suli*.²³ Chariots heavily decorated with wood-carving, in the profusion of which Indians revelled, and brilliantly coloured, *sāyam tōyta*,²⁴ trappings in various patterns and elephant warriors and foot-soldiers decked with garlands of the leaves and flowers which were the badge of each royal house, formed the serried ranks assembled on the battlefield. Of the implements of war, some came down unaltered from the Stone Age, such as the club, *tadi*,²⁵ *cūl*,²⁶ *tanju*,²⁷ the shorter one being *kunil*,²⁸ the bow, *vil*,²⁹ *kokkurai*,³⁰ *silui*,³¹ *tadi*,³² *tavar*,³³ *muni*,³⁴ besides the compound noun *kodumaram*, bent-wood. Other implements were made of stone at first, and iron was substituted for stone in the early Iron Age: such as the sword, *vāl*,³⁵ *uvani*,³⁶ *edi*,³⁷ *kađuttalai*,³⁸ *tuvatti*,³⁹ *navir*,⁴⁰ *nāttam*,⁴¹ *vāñjam*,⁴² *val*,⁴³ short swords being called *kurumbidi*,⁴⁴ *sūrigai*,⁴⁵ *katti*,⁴⁶ and bent ones.

1 காரி. 2 புரந்தலை. 3 முதனிலம். 4 படை. 5 தெயை. 6 ஆயி. 7 உண்டை. 8 ஓட்டு. 9 ஆக்கம். 10 வெள்ளுப்படை. 11 தார். 12 ஆடி. 13 சூரி. 14 கூலை.

¹⁵ Murugan, the Tamil war-god, who was assimilated by the northerners with the non-Vedic god Subrahmanya, also called Shanmukha, Kārttikeya, is said to have invented different forms of military formations and written a treatise on the subject in Sanskrit.

¹⁶ புவிநிக் கவசம் பூத்தெரை கிளைய
வெங்களை கிற்த பக்ட்டெமின் மரபின
மறவி வண்ண கவிதை மிகைபோனே
கவிசே முக்கீர் வழங்கு காவாப் போலவும்
பன்மீ னுப்பட் டங்கள் போலவுஞ்
சுறைனாத் தன்ன வாரேசே சோய்ப்ப
ஸ்ரீதுபேர் தறியாத மைக்குப்பட் டங்கே.

Puran 13

17 புரைன்.	18 காந்து.	19 தாற்.	20 ஆடி.	21 உண்டை.	22 ஆடி.	23 சூரிம்.	சேஷப்பத.
24 தடி.	25 ஏட்டு.	26 தாங்கு.	27 ராஜை.	28 ஆல்.	29 பாக்டையர்.	30 சூரி.	31 தடி..
32 தவர்.	33 முயி.	34 வெளி.	35 வெண்டி.	36 அடி.	37 புதிர்களை.	38 புதிர்.	
39 தவிர்.	40 தாட்டம்.	41 வாஞ்சை.	42 வார்.	3 குருமிடு.	44 பிரைட்.	45 காதி.	

kōnam,¹ the spear, *itti*,² *itti*,³ *kaļukkadai*,⁴ *kaļumul*,⁵ the lance and the javelin, *vel*,⁶ the implement of Murugan, *yil*,⁷ *aranam*,⁸ *ehkum*,⁹ [from *ehku*,¹⁰ (1) sharp, (2) steel], *kundam*,¹¹ *nāngar*,¹² the shorter ones being *udambidi*,¹³ *vitteru*,¹⁴ etc.; the trident, *kaļu*,¹⁵ *kaļ*,¹⁶ the battle-axe *maļu*,¹⁷ *kanichchi*,¹⁸ *kundāli*,¹⁹ *kulir*,²⁰ *tannam*,²¹ the arrow, *ambu*,²² *kanai*,²³ *kadiram*,²⁴ (allied to *kadir*,²⁵ ray, spike), *kō*,²⁶ *kōl*,²⁷ *todai*,²⁸ *tōni*,²⁹ *pagali*,³⁰ *pallam*,³¹ *pudai*,³² *vandu*,³³ *vāli*;³⁴ the arrow being one of the earliest implements used by the Tamils in fighting with animals and men, has so many names; so too the string of the bow, *nān*,³⁵ *nāni*,³⁶ *pūram*,³⁷ *āvam*,³⁸ *todai*,³⁹ *nāri*,⁴⁰ *narambu*,⁴¹ *pūtū*,⁴² the particular point where the arrow was placed being called *udu*.⁴³ The defensive weapons were the shield, *kēdagam*,⁴⁴ *kidugu*,⁴⁵ *kadagam*,⁴⁶ *tattu*,⁴⁷ *parisai*,⁴⁸ *palagai*,⁴⁹ *marai*,⁵⁰ *vattanam*,⁵¹ *vattam*;⁵² those made of hide were distinguished as *tōl*,⁵³ *tōrparam*,⁵⁴ and of cane as *tāndai*,⁵⁵ *valli*.⁵⁶ A coat of armour was *mēlagam*,⁵⁷ *arani*,⁵⁸ *āsu*,⁵⁹ *kandaļam*,⁶⁰ gauntlets for protecting the hands, being called *kaippudai*.⁶¹

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Drums and other musical instruments were used in warfare to inspire men and elephants (and later, horses) with martial enthusiasm. Musical instruments generally were called *iyam*,⁶² *vāttiyam*,⁶³ *vāchchiyam*,⁶⁴ *isaikkaruvi*,⁶⁵ *isai*,⁶⁶ being the general term for music. Musical instruments were divided into four kinds, *tōrkaruvi*,⁶⁷ those covered with leather, *tuļaikkaruvi*,⁶⁸ those provided with holes, *narambukkaruvi*,⁶⁹ stringed instruments, and *midarrukkaruvi*,⁷⁰ throat-instruments. Seven names of notes belonging to Tamil are *kural*,⁷¹ *tuttam*,⁷² *kaikkilai*,⁷³ *ulai*,⁷⁴ *ili*,⁷⁵ *vilari*,⁷⁶ and *tāram*,⁷⁷ said to be produced respectively in the throat, the tongue, the palate, the head, the forehead, the pharynx, and the nose. Perhaps these are the seven notes of the scale. The chief wind-instrument was the *kuļal*,⁷⁸ the flute, of which there were many kinds, *panai*,⁷⁹ made of the bamboo, *āmbal*,⁸⁰ of reed, *konrai*,⁸¹ of the fruit of the Cassia perforated and *mallai*, of the creeper *Jasminum trichotomum* twisted to serve as a flute. There were also different forms of the trumpet, *tārai*,⁸² *kālam*,⁸³ *kākālam*,⁸⁴ *ammiyam*,⁸⁵ *sinnam*,⁸⁶ the cornet or horn, *kombu*,⁸⁷ *kōdu*,⁸⁸ *iralai*,⁸⁹ *vayir*.⁹⁰

The chief stringed instrument was the *yāl*.⁹¹ There were many varieties of it, one for each of the five regions. The number of strings in the *yāl* varied from four to seven, sixteen, seventeen, twenty-one.

A *yāl* was composed of various parts: 'its *pattal*'⁹² (probably sounding-board) had its edges depressed and its middle raised, like the

1. செரம்.	2. சட்டு.	3. இட்டு.	4. கழக்கடை.	5. கழுமுன்.	6. வெல்.	7. எயில்.	8. அரணம்.
9. எதிகம்.	10. எதிகு.	11. குஞ்சம்.	12. குஞ்சர்.	13. மூடம்பிடி.	14. விட்டேட்.	15. கடு.	16. கடு.
17. மு.	18. கணிசச்.	19. குஞ்சரி.	20. குஞ்சி.	21. தண்ணம்.	22. அம்பு	23. கணை.	24. கதிர்.
26. செ.	27. செல்.	28. தெடை.	29. தெறி.	30. பகழி.	31. பள்ளம்.	32. குடை.	33. வகை.
35. செத்.	36. செணி.	37. புது.	38. ஆவு.	39. தெடை.	40. நெரி.	41. காம்பு.	42. புட்டு.
44. செடம்.	45. கிடுடு.	46. சுடகம்.	47. தட்டு.	48. பரிசை.	49. பலகை.	50. மகை.	51. வட்டணம்.
52. சுட்டு.	53. தெறு.	54. தெற்பாம்.	55. தண்ணட.	56. வள்ளி.	57. மேறகம்.	58. அரணி.	59. ஆசு.
60. கஞ்சம்.	61. கைப்புடை.	62. இயம்.	63. ஏத்தியம்.	64. வாச்சியம்.	65. இசைக்கருவி.	66. இசை.	
67. தெற்கருவி.	68. தென்கருவி.	69. தெம்புக்கருவி.	70. மிட்டக்கருவி.	71. குரல்.	72. தந்தம்.		
73. கஞ்சினி.	74. ஆனி.	75. இளி.	76. விளி.	77. தெரம்.	78. குழல்.	79. பளை.	80. ஆம்பல்.
81. வெங்காம.	82. தெரை.	83. தொம்.	84. கஞ்சம்.	85. அம்மியம்.	86. சின்னம்.	87. கொம்பு.	88. கேட்டு.
88. இரும்.	89. வாரி.	90. பாரும்.	92. பக்கல்.				

impression on the earth of an antelope's foot ; this was covered by a skin of the colour of a flame and it was stitched in the middle and the stitches resembled the row of thin hair on the belly of a fair girl in the early stages of pregnancy ; the skin was fixed to the wood by means of nails which looked like the eyes of the crab which lives in a mountain-cave ; its mouth without a palate was of the shape of the moon on the eighth day after the new moon ; its beam was like a serpent with its head upraised ; its straps were like bracelets on the forearm of a black woman ; its strings were taut and, struck by fingers looking like husked *tinai*, resounded.¹

In another poem it is described as having a *tol*,² hide of the colour of the core of the *pādiri*,³ the trumpet flower, *Bignonia Chelonoides*, a *tulai*,⁴ a hole with two eyes like the bud of the *kamugu*,⁵ areca-palm, a green *porvai*,⁶ looking homogeneous as if made of melted metal, a *vāy*,⁷ mouth dark like a dried up spring, a *kadai*,⁸ extremity of the shape of the crescent, a *tivaru*,⁹ bands with strips of leather, moving like the bangles at the wrists of a lady, a *maruppu*,¹⁰ or *taṇdu*,¹¹ trunk, dark like sapphire, and *narambu*,¹² strings, as if of gold.¹³

The drum, *parai*,¹⁴ *murašu*,¹⁵ *pērigai*,¹⁶ *āguvi*,¹⁷ *ellari*,¹⁸ *salligai*,¹⁹ *sallari*,²⁰ *kiṇai*,²¹ was also of various kinds and differed from region to region and also according to the purposes for which it was used. *Tadāri*²² or *udukkai*,²³ was a small double drum shaped like a sand-glass and carried by minstrels, *pānar*.²⁴ The *taṭṭai*,²⁵ or *karadigai*²⁶ uttered a sound like the grunt of a bear. 'Pure Tamil' names of various tunes, *pan*,²⁷ viz., *pālai*,²⁸ *kuriñji*,²⁹ *marudam*,³⁰ *sevvali*,³¹ occur; moreover the names of a few rāgams now sung are old Tamil names, but nothing definite about old Tamil music can be ascertained unless ancient books like the *Isainuṇukkam*,³² of the *Idaichchangam*,³³ the *Sirrisai*,³⁴ and the *Perisai*,³⁵ of the *Kadaichchangam*³⁶ are discovered.

The arms, offensive and defensive, and the drums, referred to above, were also used in hunting, *vēṭṭai*,³⁷ *āgedagam*,³⁸ *pābatti*,³⁹ which was another favourite occupation of kings and nobles. The professional shikari had numerous names, *āviyar*,⁴⁰ *kānavar*,⁴¹ *kūavar*,⁴²

¹ குளப்புவழி பண்ண கவுடுபடி பத்தல்
விளக்கம் வூருவின் விசியுற பஞ்சை
யெய்யர விளக்குச் செப்பேர எவ்வழிற்
ஒருதலை ரோறுகிய தேர்தல் பேருலை
பொல்லம் பெருத்திய பெருப்புற சூரியை
பண்வழுவால்வான் கண்கண் டங்கை
துணையும் துந்த துப்புமை மாணி
யென்னாட் டுங்கன் வடில்லி ருகி
யென்னாடு லில்லா வையவரு வந்வாய்ப்
பாற்பணக் தண்ண சேங்கிரு மகுப்பின்
யாபோன் முன்கை பாய்தெரடி கெட்குஞ்
கண்கை டிருக்கைத் தின்வணித் திவல்
அப்பினை யரிசி யையை லண்ண
வேய்வை சேங்கிய விருஷாந் எம்பிற்
சேங்கி போசுப் பீர்விசித் தெருடையல்.

Porunarāṇṇuruppadai, 4-18.

² தெல். ³ பாதிரி. ⁴ தன். ⁵ கழுது. ⁶ பரிசை. ⁷ வாப். ⁸ கைட. ⁹ திவல். ¹⁰ மகுப்பு.
¹¹ தண்ட. ¹² கருப்பு. ¹³ *Perumbānāṇṇuruppadai*; 4-16. ¹⁴ பைர. ¹⁵ முரு. ¹⁶ பேரிசை.
¹⁷ ஆகுளி. ¹⁸ எல்லாரி. ¹⁹ சுல்லிகை. ²⁰ பொல்லி. ²¹ கிளை. ²² தடாரி. ²³ உடுக்கை. ²⁴ பாறை.
²⁵ தட்டை. ²⁶ தடுதலை. ²⁷ பான். ²⁸ பாலை. ²⁹ குற்றுக்கி. ³⁰ மகுதல். ³¹ செல்வழி.
³² இதைத்துக்கம். ³³ இதைச்சுந்தகம். ³⁴ சிற்றிசை. ³⁵ பேரிசை. ³⁶ கைட்சுந்தகம். ³⁷ வேட்டை
³⁸ ஆசெடல். ³⁹ புபுதி. ⁴⁰ ஆவியர். ⁴¹ ஸ்ரீவர். ⁴² குவர்.

kun̄avar,¹ *kūliyar*,² *kolaiñar*,³ *savarar*,⁴ *śilavar*,⁵ *sillar*,⁶ *tiyar*,⁷ *pullar*,⁸ *pulaiñar*,⁹ *maravar*,¹⁰ *marudar*,¹¹ *vēdar*,¹² showing how widespread that profession was. They were also employed as policemen, armed with the bow and the sharp arrow.¹³

TOWNS AND VILLAGES: HOUSES

Round the *Kōṭṭai* where the king resided, grew the *pēṭṭai*,¹⁴ (from *pē*,¹⁵ vulgar, whence is derived *pēdai*,¹⁶ common people, the poor, *pēy*,¹⁷ the wild plant, also goblin). Naturally the followers of each trade gravitated towards each other and each principal profession was confined to a single *pēṭṭai*; there were thus many suburbs around a town, separated from each other. These *pēṭṭais* were each surrounded by rice-fields or gardens. There are many words to indicate a house, such as *vīdu*,¹⁸ *agam*,¹⁹ *il*,²⁰ *illam*,²¹ *śerbu*,²² *pātti*,²³ *manai*,²⁴ *vayin*,²⁵ besides the compound words *uṛaiyu*,²⁶ and *pukkil*.²⁷ The houses of richer men were called *mādam*²⁸ (whence perhaps *mādi*,²⁹ upper story) or *māligai*³⁰ from the root *māl*,³¹ great. They were built almost entirely of timber up to about twelve centuries ago. The following words relating to parts of a house may be noted: *iṛappu*,³² *iṛai*,³³ *valavu*,³⁴ *tālvāram*,³⁵ sloping roof; *munyil*,³⁶ *murrām*,³⁷ courtyard, inside or outside a house; the compound word *nilāmurām*,³⁸ a flat roof on which one can walk up and down; *uttiram*,³⁹ *tūlam*,⁴⁰ beam *sūruvāri*,⁴¹ *tal*,⁴² *tudai*,⁴³ *mugadu*,⁴⁴ *vidāngam*,⁴⁵ beam projecting beyond a wall. In front of the houses was the *tinnai*⁴⁶ a raised and covered platform, which served the purposes of a drawing-room and bed-room for the day and even for the night. Before the *tinnai*, was the *kuradu*,⁴⁷ open platform, flanked by the *ottuttinmai*.⁴⁸ The walls, the *tinnai* and the floor of the house were no doubt polished like a mirror or black-marble, the cement being compounded of clay, charcoal and cattle-dung, *man*,⁴⁹ *kari*,⁵⁰ and *sāni*,⁵¹ and applied to the surface wet and rubbed over for hours with a bit of flattened quartz, an art which is fast dying out. The entrance to the house was not flush with street, as there was a *vāyilpadi*,⁵² door-step. It was provided with a wooden frame work, *nilai*,⁵³ and a door, *kadavu*,⁵⁴ also called *aranam*,⁵⁵ *aravam*,⁵⁶ *kāppu*,⁵⁷ *totti*,⁵⁸ *pudavu*,⁵⁹ *vāri*,⁶⁰ secured by a wooden bolt and heavily carved outside, as they are even to-day in houses not ruined by modern civilization. The houses were provided with windows, *śalaram*,⁶¹ *sannal*,⁶² *palagani*,⁶³ being, as the name implied, a many-eyed lattice window. Behind the door ran a narrow passage, *idaikāli*,⁶⁴ or *nādai*,⁶⁵ which led into the house. The houses were provided with

1குஞ்சர். 2கனிபர். 3செந்திரு. 4வரர். 5சிலவர். 6சிலவர். 7பார்.
8புலவர். 9புலிகுர். 10மாறவர். 11மரதி. 12கூடை.

13காஞ்சல் அம்பின் தெருவில் கனியர்.

Malaipadukadām, 422.

14பேட்டை. 15பே. 16பேதை. 17பேப். 18வீடு. 19அகங். 20இல். 21கிள்ளம். 22கோட்டப்பு. 23பாத்தி. 24மூன். 25வலன். 26குறையுள். 27புக்கில். The houses of Brāhmaṇas were given the Sanskrit name of *Ahāram* (ஆரம்) and the street where they lived *akkirākāram* (அக்கிராகாம்).

28மாதை. 29மாடி. 30மாவிகை. 31மான். 32கிறப்பு. 33கிரை. 34வாஷ. 35தாழ்வர்த்தம். 36மாந்திரம். 37ஏற்றம். 38விலாமுத்தம். 39கிரிதம். 40கலம். 41சுற்றுவரி. 42தாழ். 43தாடை. 44மாகி. 45விடங்கம். 46தினாணை. 47குறுடி. 48ஒட்டுத்தினாணை. 49மான். 50கூ. 51காஞ்சி. 52காவலப்படி. 53நிலை. 54காதல். 55அரண்யம். 56அரவம். 57காப்பு. 58கூடை. 59பதி. 60வரி. 61சுறைம். 62சுங்கல். 63பலகணி. 64கிடைக்கு. 65காடை.

drains, *śakkadri*,¹ or *śalagam*,² as were the houses of Mohenjo-daro, recently unearthed. The spout of the drain was *tūmbu*,³ *pūlal*,⁴ *surungu*.⁵ The inside walls were provided with niches, *purai*,⁶ in which were placed, among other things, the lamps to light the house by night. These lamps were little bowls of stone or earthen-ware, or metal, *agal*,⁷ *tagali*,⁸ *tagali*,⁹ *idiñjil*,¹⁰ *pāndil*,¹¹ in which castor oil or other oils were burnt with a cotton wick.¹² Behind the house was another *kuradu*,¹³ which was a lumber room. Behind this the house-well, *kinaru*,¹⁴ *asumbu*,¹⁵ *uravi*,¹⁶ *kuli*,¹⁷ *kūval*,¹⁸ *kūdam*,¹⁹ *tūravu*,²⁰ *kēni*,²¹ *pūval*,²² the latter three being water pits without a protecting structure of wood around them. Behind the well stretched a garden, either a kitchen garden or a fruit tope, *kollai*,²³ *tōppu*,²⁴ *tōttam*,²⁵ *avalam*,²⁶ *tudavai*,²⁷ *tođuvu*,²⁸ *padappai*,²⁹ *pāvagam*,³⁰ *pūnam*.³¹ In the *kollai* behind the house was the *kōṭil*,³² cattle-shed, *kōṭtu*,³³ from probably the same word as Telugu *goddu*, cattle, and *il*, meaning house. Behind the garden stretched the corn fields, *vayal*.³⁴

The furniture of houses was utensils for polishing and grinding rice and for cooking it in various ways. *Ural*³⁵ and *ullakkai*³⁶ mortar and pestle, of both wood and stone, pounding stones of several shapes, sometimes the shape of the tortoise or other animals, *ammi*,³⁷ *tiruvai*³⁸ *ātukkal*,³⁹ *kulavi*,⁴⁰ mealers of stone, *pūṭil*,⁴¹ *vaṭṭigai*,⁴² basket, *muram*,⁴³ *śinnam*,⁴⁴ *sulagu*,⁴⁵ *tattu*,⁴⁶ *murryil*,⁴⁷ winnowing fan, *salladai*,⁴⁸ sieve; different forms of pots of earthenware or soft stone, *pānai*.⁴⁹ *satti*,⁵⁰ *śāl*,⁵¹ *kudam*,⁵² *midā*,⁵³ *pānā*,⁵⁴ *mallay*,⁵⁵ lid for the same, *madakku*;⁵⁶ spoons, at first made of wood, and then of iron or other metal, *agappai*,⁵⁷ (of three kinds, *taṭtagappai*,⁵⁸ *sandagappai*,⁵⁹ *śirragappai*,⁶⁰) *sattuvam*,⁶¹ *karandi*,⁶² *muttai*, *tuduppu*,⁶³ *maravai*,⁶⁴ *marakkāl*,⁶⁵ or *ambanam*,⁶⁶ *totti*,⁶⁷ *kinnam*,⁶⁸ *vatti*,⁶⁹ *vattil*,⁷⁰ flat spoon, all of wood or stone coming down from the stone age and a few of metal since the commencement of the iron age; other household furniture were *manai*,⁷¹ planks for sitting on or shaped logs used as pillows, *petti*,⁷² *pēlai*,⁷³ *añjikai*,⁷⁴ box, the stone-age form of which was the *kaṭṭuppetti*,⁷⁵ a box of wicker work without any metal parts and bound together by means of cocoanut coir, and hence absolutely unpollutable by touch and fit for storing eatables and the Lares and Penates; *kaṭtil*,⁷⁶ literally bound place, a cot made of bamboos fitted together into an oblong framework bound together with ropes, also called *pāndil*;⁷⁷ literature mentions richer forms of

1 சுரக்கடை. 2 சாலதம். 3 தும்பு. 4 புமல். 5 சுருக்கு. 6 புவர். 7 அசல். 8 தெணி. 9 தெறி. 10 இடுஞ்சில். 11 பாண்டில். 12 பஞ்சி வெண்டிச் செஞ்செடர் எல்லில், *Kurundogai*, 353. A good house with red flames issuing from white wicks of cotton wool. 13 குபு. 14 தினாத. 15 தும்பு. 16 பூவி. 17 தீழி. 18 காவல். 19 கட்ட. 20 தெறி. 21 கேணி. 22 புவர். 23 கெள்ளி. 24 தெப்பு. 25 தெட்டும். 26 தூவலம். 27 துடைய. 28 தெட்டு. 29 புத்தமப். 30 பாவகம். 31 புனம். A new *kollai* was *vidaippunam*, (விதைப்புனம்) and an old one, or one made by cutting and burning down a forest, *mudaiippunam* (முதைப்புனம்). 32 கெட்டும். 33 கெட்டி. 34 ஏவில். 35 பால். 36 ஹல்கை. 37 அம்மி. 38 திருவை. 39 தூட்டுக்கல். 40 குறுவி. 41 புட்டில். 42 வட்டிகை. 43 குறும். 44 சின்னம். 45 சுக்கு. 46 தட்டி. 47 முற்றில். 48 சல்லடை. 49 பாஜை. 50 சட்டி. 51 சால். 52 குடம். 53 மிடர். 54 பாரு. 55 மல்லாம். 56 மட்கு. 57 அகப்பை. 58 தட்டகப்பை. 59 சுந்தகப்பை. 60 சிற்றகப்பை. 61 சுட்டுவம். 62 காண்டி. 63 தடுப்பு. 64 மரவை. 65 மரக்கால். 66 அம்பணம். 67 தெட்டி. 68 சின்னம். 69 வட்டி. 70 வட்டும். 71 மூன்று. 72 புட்டி. *Tapalai*, *tavalai*, and *saruvam* are now used for metal pots and are perhaps loan-words of a later age. 73 பேழை. 74 மஞ்சிகை. 75 கட்டுப்பெட்டி. 76 தட்டில். 77 பாண்டில்.

the *pāndil*, which will be described later on, tied with tape, *tattam*,¹ or *kachchu*,² woven with decorative lines, like the stripes of a tiger; this kind of cot was called *kachchukkattil*,³ the former being *kayirruk-kattil*.⁴

Besides the cot there was the *toṭtil*,⁵ cradle, literally, hanging place, (from *to*,⁶ whose intensive is *toṅgu*,⁷ to hang,) *tūli*,⁸ hammock, *ūñjal*⁹ or *vīśupalagai*,¹⁰ swinging plank, *kudalai*,¹¹ plaited basket for gathering flowers, *śimil*,¹² small casket, *uṛi*,¹³ or *śimili*,¹⁴ a loop of string suspended from the roof of a house or from the end of a pole called *kāvadi*,¹⁵ by means of which one man can carry two men's loads; *kanappu*,¹⁶ or *kumbatti*,¹⁷ for warming the hands and the breast during cold nights, *pattadai*,¹⁸ *śumudu*,¹⁹ *śummādu*,²⁰ contrivances on which to stand pots *kūdu*,²¹ coop, *kudir*,²² granary, *paran*,²³ *idam*,²⁴ *kaludu*,²⁵ *padagam*,²⁶ *panavai*,²⁷ loft for storing articles, also raised platform for watching birds and other enemies of the growing crops, *tadavu*,²⁸ *indalam*,²⁹ censer, *nelikol*,³⁰ stick for churning fire, *tūkku*,³¹ *kā*,³² *nīraikol*,³³ steelyard introduced into Europe by the Dutch and hence called Dutch steel-yard, *kavan*,³⁴ *talal*,³⁵ sling, also bull-roarer; *pāy*,³⁶ mat, and *mettai*,³⁷ *anai*,³⁸ *amali*,³⁹ *kāguli*,⁴⁰ *taviśu*,⁴¹ *talimam*,⁴² bed stuffed with cotton. These constitute, even now, the complete furniture of Tamil homes such as have not come under the seductive influence of European foreign trade.

The poorer people lived in huts, *kudiśai*,⁴³ *kudil*,⁴⁴ *kuchchu*,⁴⁵ *kuchchil*,⁴⁶ *kurambai*.⁴⁷ Their walls were made of wattle and clay, and they were generally circular, rarely rectangular, in shape; the roof was rarely aspidal, but mostly domical and topped by a pot, *kudam*,⁴⁸ through a hole in which were passed the bamboos constituting the framework of the roof; and from the early days when such huts were built, temples were built in similar fashion, and when later they were built of brick or stone, over the shrines was built a domical roof, furnished with a metal pot, now called *kalaśam*,⁴⁹ and serving an ornamental, not useful, purpose.

The following is a description of a hunter's hut of old times:—

'In the huts of the hunters were leaning, on the planks decorated with bells, lances whose ends were blunted and smelling of flesh from the bodies of enemies whom the hunters killed and left lying on the ground, a prey for kites. Bows with the string tied in knots were also leaning on the walls on which there was a thatch of *ūga*,⁵⁰ grass. Bundles of arrows with notches like honeycombs on hills were hanging from the thick legs of the pandal. The huts were guarded by dogs chained to posts. The compound was surrounded by a living hedge of thorns. The door was fastened by a strong beam. In front were

1 பட்டம்.	2 கூசு.	3 செங்கூட்டிலை.	4 வெற்றாட்டிலை.	5 தெட்டிலை.
6 தீர்.	7 தெங்கு	8 தூஷி.	9 மூஞ்சல்.	11 குடைஸ்.
12 சிமித்.	13 நீத்.	14 சிமில்.	15 காவதி.	17 மூபட்டி.
18 பட்டகை.	19 குறு.	20 சம்யாடு.	21 கூடு.	23 பரங்.
24 இதணம்.	25 சமுத.	26 படைம்.	27 பன்னை.	28 தெடு.
30 மேல்கோல்.	31 தங்கு.	32 தீ.	33 மீற்கோல்.	34 வளை.
36 படப்.	37 மேத்தை.	38 அலை.	39 அமரி.	35 சுழல்.
43 குடகை.	44 குடல்.	45 குச்ச.	40 காகுலி.	41 தலை.
48 குடம்.	49 கலசம்.	50 கூகம்.	46 குஷ்டில்.	42 தனிமம்.
				47 குரம்பை.

fixed rows of stiff-standing, cruel-pointed stakes. Such were the houses of the hunters who were armed with the bent bow.¹

More or less irregular rows or groups of *kudisais*,² huts, sparsely interspersed with *māligais*,³ constituted the street, *teru*,⁴ *āvaṇam*,⁵ *kōsam*,⁶ *nēllal*,⁷ *maṛugu*;⁸ a long street was called *manyam*,⁹ a short one, *kōṇam*,¹⁰ and the place where many streets meet, *sādukkam*,¹¹ or *sandu*.¹² Towns and villages were named variously according to the regions, *tinai*,¹³ they belonged to. Thus in Kuriñji, they were called *sirukudi*,¹⁴ *kūrichchi*;¹⁵ in Mullai, *pādi*,¹⁶ *seri*,¹⁷ *palli*;¹⁸ in Marudam, *ūr*;¹⁹ in Neydal, *pākkam*;²⁰ and in Pālai, *pāyan-dalai*.²¹ In the towns dwelt, side by side, *mēlor*²² or *uyarndor*²³ and *kīlor*²⁴ or *tālndor*,²⁵ the higher and the lower classes. The later literature of the early Christian centuries speak of two assemblies of men who were the recipients of royal confidence—*aimōerukuṇu*²⁶ and *enperāyam*,²⁷ *kuṇu*²⁸ and *āyam*²⁹ meant assemblies; the five assemblies have been explained by commentators as those of ministers, priests, army leaders, ambassadors and intelligence officers, but the names of these, viz., *amaichchar*,³⁰ *puvhitar*,³¹ *sēnāpadiyar*,³² *tūduvar*³³ and *sāraṇar*³⁴, are all *tadbhavas* from Sanskrit and hence it is difficult to decide that the five groups of officers existed from old times. The group of eight are said to consist of ministers, executive officers, treasury officers, door-keepers, citizens, generals, elephant-warriors, horse-soldiers.³⁵ This enumeration, mixing men of high and low degree, does not strike one as referring to very ancient times. An early commentator of *Silappadigaram* gives a less improbable enumeration of these five and eight assemblies; the five are made up of sages, Brahmans, physicians, soothsayers and ministers; even this cannot be a classification of the Pre-Aryan Epoch because Brāhmaṇas occurs in the list. The eight are those who apply sandal paste to the person of the king, those that decorate him with flowers, those that

பாட்டுப்

வெங்கலத் தெவ்வா கடிச் சேஷன்
கைக்குதி மழுங்கிய குவாசர யெலிகம்
ஈடுங்கப் பங்கையொடு நிகராடி முத்தா
கூபஞ் காத்திய கிளாங்கு லினாக
கூங் வேப்பந் வயர்களை கணப்பீக
காங்கநேள் பரையுங் காவாக்கடைப் புகாத்தியா
கடிக்குதி துங்கு கிளை கார் பஞ்சந்
தெட்டார் பாதா தன்னாருள் எதுகா
ஏற்குள் கேலிச் குழிங்கப் படப்பைக
கொடுதூக் கழிகுப் புத்தி, கெங்கிலை
கொடுது வக்கஞ் சிகாக்க வாமிர
கொடுவி வெவின் குறம்பு.

Perumbānārruppadai. 117–129.

²குடிசை. ³மாளிகை. ⁴கெட்டு. ⁵ஆவணம். ⁶கோசம். ⁷கெடுல்வல். ⁸மாரு. ⁹மாறநம்.
¹⁰கோணம். ¹¹ஏதாகம். ¹²காந்து. ¹³திணை. ¹⁴கிரகுடி. ¹⁵குத்தா. ¹⁶பாடி. ¹⁷கெளி.
¹⁸பஞ்சி. ¹⁹ஏந். ²⁰பாகம். ²¹பந்ததல். ²²கெலேந். ²³பார்க்கேர். ²⁴கேந்த.
²⁵காந்த்தேர். ²⁶கும்பெருகும். ²⁷காங்கேரேபம். ²⁸குடி. ²⁹ஆயம். ³⁰அகாங்கர். ³¹கீர்விதி.
³²கெபுதியர். ³³காதுவர். ³⁴சாராசர். அமைச்சர் குடேகிரை கேங்குப்பீக காந்த்தெந்திர
நுதவர் சொகைகேந்தை பாத்திப்பிரக் காங்குப்பீக குடுவையைப்படுமே. *Divakaram* 168.
³⁵காங்கநதியலைச் சுறுவிதிகள், காங்கங்கநகடை காப்பாரன், காங்கநத் தெப்படைத்தலைவு,
உணவீர் நிழலீர் வர்ணாய்செந்தபே ரைமென்ப. *Ib.* quoted in the commentaries on
Silappadigaram, v. 157, p. 144.

fasten his belt, those that clothe him, those that supply arecanut and betel leaves and those that put on his armour.¹ This looks like a genuine list of the persons immediately round the king.

DRESS

The cotton plant is a native of India and the Indians of the later stone age learnt to spin the cotton fibre into thread, *nūl*,² *ilai*,³ *saraḍu*,⁴ *todar*,⁵ *nuvanam*,⁶ *pānuval*,⁷ *pīśin*,⁸ and to weave cotton yarn into long pieces of cloth. The idea of cloth was no doubt suggested by *pānnādai*⁹, also called *neyyari*¹⁰ which the people wore, besides hides, before the invention of cotton-weaving. *Pānnādai* is the web at the bottom of a young palmyra or cocoanut leaf and was used as cloth in very ancient times, for *maravuri*,¹¹ tree-flay, also called *āśini*,¹² *iraiñji*,¹³ *śiram*,¹⁴ *śrai*,¹⁵ is one of the forms of dress which possesses the holiness of hoary antiquity and is patronized by sacred ascetics and pilgrims. The supply of cotton was abundant and weavers wore endless lengths of cotton cloth, *tugil*,¹⁶ which they cut into short pieces, *ayuvai*,¹⁷ *tuni*,¹⁸ *tūndu*¹⁹ before winding round their persons. The number of words meaning dress is very great : *āśaran*,²⁰ *āśidai*,²¹ *ādai*,²² *idaidal*,²³ *ilakkāram*,²⁴ *udukkai*²⁵ *udai*,²⁶ *edagam*,²⁷ *oliyal*,²⁸ (specially used for *mēlādai*, cloth worn over the shoulder), *kandai*,²⁹ *kattiyam*,³⁰ *kappadam*,³¹ *kalai*,³² *kādagam*,³³ *kāndam*,³⁴ *kālagam*,³⁵ *kūrai*,³⁶ (now used for cloth, presented to the bride during marriage), *kodi*³⁷ (now used for cloth, unwashed, straight from the hands of the weaver or the vendor), *sāmbaran*,³⁸ *sādi*,³⁹ *sīyil*,⁴⁰ *śrai*,⁴¹ *sūdi*,⁴² *śelai*,⁴³ *tānai*⁴⁴ (also *mēladai*), *tūsu*,⁴⁵ *tūtti*,⁴⁶ *tūriyam*,⁴⁷ *tokkai*,⁴⁸ *midiyal*,⁴⁹ *pudavai*,⁵⁰ (now restricted to the long piece of cloth worn by women), *pādām*,⁵¹ *pāttam*;⁵² and many others. All these words meant cloth woven of the fibre of cotton. Those woven of silk were called *karambu*,⁵³ *pani*,⁵⁴ *paranam*,⁵⁵ *pālidam*,⁵⁶ and woollen cloth, *mayiragam*,⁵⁷ *vayiriyan*.⁵⁸ The fewness of the names of silk and woollen cloth shows that weaving in these was scarce. Cloth dyed in various colours, *sāyam toyta*,⁵⁹ was freely used. Indeed decoration being the chief aim of Indian art, as will be explained later, plain white cloth was considered as fit for occasions of mourning and for being worn by women in permanent mourning, i.e., widows. Hence dyed cloth and that decorated with flowers on the borders and throughout the body of the cloth was the usual wear. A much decorated cloth,

¹ சாந்துபுக் காசாயை பாக்கிலை களுத்தென
ஏம்பத் விவரணம் ராபத்தேர்—வேதநாட்கு
நாசனம் பார்ம்பரி மருத்து வாழ்ந்திடத் தேர்தலமைச்
நாவிலங்கை எந்தாகாத்த. Op. cit. p. 144.

² துல். ³ இதும். ⁴ தூடி. ⁵ தெட்டார். ⁶ துவணம். ⁷ புதுவல். ⁸ பிசின். ⁹ பன்னுடை.
¹⁰ கடப்பரி. ¹¹ மராதி. ¹² தூதியி. ¹³ இக்ராஞ்சி. ¹⁴ தீடு. ¹⁵ தீரை. ¹⁶ துகில். ¹⁷ அரைவ.
from root அட to cut. ¹⁸ துணி. ¹⁹ துணி, both from root தன to cut. ²⁰ ஆரைவ.
²¹ ஆதிதை. ²² ஆடை. ²³ ஆடைத்தல். ²⁴ இலக்காரம். ²⁵ உடுக்கை. ²⁶ உடை. ²⁷ ஏடகம்.
²⁸ ஆவியல். ²⁹ ஆடை. ³⁰ ஆதியம். ³¹ கப்படம். ³² கூலி. ³³ கட்டாம். ³⁴ காஷ்டம். ³⁵ கருதம்.
³⁶ கூறி. ³⁷ கூடி. ³⁸ கம்பாம். ³⁹ கடி. ⁴⁰ கிற்றல். ⁴¹ கூரை. ⁴² குடி. ⁴³ கேளு.
⁴⁴ கடை. ⁴⁵ கடி. ⁴⁶ குட்டி. ⁴⁷ குரியம். ⁴⁸ குத்தகை. ⁴⁹ மிடுயல். ⁵⁰ குடைவ. ⁵¹ குடைவ்.
⁵² பட்டம். ⁵³ கடம். ⁵⁴ பெண். ⁵⁵ பாலைம். ⁵⁶ பாரிதம். ⁵⁷ மயிரகம். ⁵⁸ வழியை.

woven so finely that the yarn could not be distinguished by sight and adorned with woven flowers so that it looked like the skin of the serpent is referred to in literature.¹ The sentiment against plain, white, undecorated cloth was so strong even two generations ago, when machine-made cloth began to compete vigorously with hand-woven cloth, that the more conservative of the men, who were tempted to use Manchester mull on account of its cheapness, stitched across its borders and along its edges, lines of red thread to make it look respectable. Even to-day the old instincts assert themselves on occasions of festive celebrations, when undecorated cloth is taboo. This objection to undecorated cloth, yards of unrelieved whiteness, this sentiment springing from age-long association of plain, undyed, undecorated cloth with mourning and the offensiveness of its monotony to eyes trained to a sense of beauty and to the æsthetic instincts common to all Indians, has in the last two generations been vanquished by the glamour of machine-made cloth, woven of yarn spun evenly by spinning machines and polished by chemical appliances, ever-new forms of which are being invented day after day. Tamil ladies alone have presented a solid front of opposition to this destruction of the æsthetic sense of South Indians by soul-less, machine-made cloth.

Weaving in wool is as ancient as weaving in cotton ; it was essentially an industry, not of *marudam*, but of *mallai*, in the less fertile parts of which lived the *Kurumbar*,² the class of herdsmen who tended the *kurumbādu*,³ and wove from its fleece the *kambalam*,⁴ ten thousands years ago as they do to-day. Wool weaving did not go beyond its crude stage in Southern India ; but in Northern India, and especially in Kashmir, where the supply of soft wool from the necks of Himalayan goats was unlimited and where vegetation on the banks of hill-streams and beds of flowers on mountain-sides, presented ever varying patterns to be incorporated by the weaver in wool, was developed the splendid industry of shawl-weaving, which will never be killed by the greatest growth of machine-weaving, so long as man has eyes to see beautiful forms and sense to appreciate beautiful designs.

Silk was used chiefly for decorating the edges of cotton cloth, since the silk fibre was not abundant ; but from the earliest times cloth was also wholly woven of silk thread ; silk cloth and woollen cloth are less susceptible of the pollution of touch than cotton cloth, showing that they were older manufactures than the latter. A cloth woven from rat's hair is also mentioned.⁵ But cotton cloth was peculiarly sensitive to touch, in the sense that it could be easily polluted. Every piece of cotton cloth, doffed, *vilutta*,⁶ after wear even for a second became *viluppi*,⁷ polluted, and the pollution could be got rid of only after being washed with water, dried in air and folded, when it became *madi*.⁸ This last word meaning fold, came to mean a cloth,

¹ சோகு தழைகல்லை நண்மைய பூச்சனங் தாவரியன்ன வழை. *Porunarrāryuppadai*, 82.83.
² குறம்பர். ³ குறம்பாடு. ⁴ கம்பாடு.

⁵ *Silappadigaram*, xiv. 205-7 speaks of the streets where were sold, cloth folded a hundred-fold, woven of fine cotton yarn, hair and silk thread ; here the commentator explains hair to be rats' hair.

"தலை மயிரினு தழைதூற பட்டினும், பால்வகை தெயியப் பஞ்சாராக்கீத ஏழாடு, கெற்ற வழை வீதியும்"

⁶ விழுது. ⁷ விழுப்பு. ⁸ மடு.

sacramentally pure, when folded after being washed and dried. Such cloth was unfolded and worn, a long piece around the waist and another, round the trunk, loose and graceful, beautiful to look at and allowing the air and the sun to kiss the skin and destroy the innumerable germs that get lodged in it and destroy its health. The supply of cotton being unlimited and the patience of the weavers being inexhaustible, there was no temptation, such as existed in wool-wearing countries, to cut up cloth so as to make small bits go a long way, and to prepare stitched clothes. Not that the needle (*ūsi*,¹ *ilai-vāngi*,²) or its use in stitching, *tunnal*,³ *taiyal*,⁴ was unknown,⁵ but in addition to the objection that stitched clothes reveal too much the human anatomy, there was no necessity to use them when cloth was plentiful. Indeed whole cloth, without a tear, mended or unmended, became in popular estimation sacramentally pure, and stitches of any kind rendered cloth unfit for use on ceremonial occasions. Ladies who in all respects preserve ancient orthodoxy intact, do not wear stitched cloth on such occasions. The jacket, the only form of stitched clothes ladies wear, has got the non-Tamil name of *ravikkai*;⁶ it was possibly introduced into the country by Yavana (Greek and Roman) ladies that formed the body-guard of Indian kings two thousand years ago, or later by the Muhammadans. Whatever its origin, it is worn only on secular occasions and even then only by young women, who are allowed greater lapses into heterodoxy of conduct than elderly ladies. Serving men and soldiers wore coats, *sattai*,⁷ *kuppayam*,⁸ *taippai*,⁹ *meyppai*,¹⁰ the latter two *kāranappēyar*, indicating that a coat was a late introduction in the lives of the Tamils. The absence of stitched clothes among the Indians struck that accurate foreign student of Indian manners, Al Bērūni, as so peculiar, that he remarks that the Indians 'wore turbans for trousers,' a long piece of unstitched cloth appealing to the Muslim imagination as being fit only for turbans. The Tamils did not wear turbans as a rule, their unshaved head serving as sufficient protection against the sun; but in the cotton districts where the summer sun is so fierce, men wore huge turbans and tight fore-lap cloth. This latter, *kachchu*,¹¹ *kachchai*,¹² *kōvanam*,¹³ is the only absolutely indispensable garment for the Tamil people, and is woven with decorative lines, athwart and along, even to-day in parts of South India. Apparently the turban was not universal; only one name for it is traceable—*pāgai*,¹⁴ or *pāgu*,¹⁵ often with *talai*,¹⁶ prefixed to it, it is not possible to guess why. There remain *kudai*,¹⁷ umbrella, made of palm leaves and fixed to a stick or clapped on the head like a hat, and *seruppu*,¹⁸ leather sandals and *kuradu*,¹⁹ wooden sandals, for the feet, both also being referred to by the compound word *midiyadi*.²⁰

¹ உசி. ² இலைவங்கி. ³ துன்னல். ⁴ தையல்.

⁵ A poor man's rags are described in *Porunaraīyruppadai*, 80-81, as cloth stitched, full of threads other than those with which it was woven and wet with sweat.

கோரிட சென்ற வேற்றும் நமைத்த, தண்ண சிறா அ.

⁶ ரவிக்கை.	⁷ சட்டை.	⁸ குப்பைம்.	⁹ தைப்பை.	¹⁰ மூழ்ப்பை.	¹¹ சுத்த.
¹² சுத்தை.	¹³ செருப்பை.	¹⁴ புதை.	¹⁵ புது.	¹⁶ பூவு.	¹⁷ குடல்.
¹⁸ சுக்குப்பு.	¹⁹ குப்பு.	²⁰ பிதிபடி.			

DECORATION

The artistic instincts of the Indian people expressed themselves in the form of personal decoration by means of dress and ornaments. Love of decorating not only the person but of every article, has been the inspiring motive of Indian art throughout the ages. Their dwellings were decorated with colour drawings, as is proved by the fact that palettes, and pencils have been found in Stone Age settlements and that even to-day painting on walls and covering the floor daily inside and outside houses with most elaborate designs in coloured powders is practiced. The custom is so old that only on occasions of a death in the house, is it temporarily suspended. Such adornment of the floor is called *kolam*,¹ which word means beauty, ornaments, embellishments, costumes, trappings, and *kolam bunaippen*,² or *vannamagal*,³ is the girl who is expert in embellishment, also a lady's dressing maid. This is one of many ancient Indian customs that is dying out on account of the impact of Western civilization; our ladies are struggling to keep up the custom, but our young girls are being no more apprenticed to our matrons for being trained as *kolam bunaippen*. As the soul-less 'type-design' buildings constructed by the D.P.W., are destroying taste in architecture, so the education that is given in our girls' schools is killing out the ancient Indian art of house decoration, which now exists only in the villages round celebrated temples and which can be witnessed only on occasions when the temple God is brought out in procession.

Every article of domestic furniture was decorated with art work. Stone articles were made in the shape of tortoises, fishes, heads of cows, etc. and their surface decorated with lines. All articles of wood were filled with wood-carving in various designs. Most of these designs were based on the parts of the lotus plant. The lotus is a plant, every part of which is useful to man; its flower, its seed, its root and its stem are edible and also used in Indian medicine. Its stem and flowers and leaves are used for purposes of decoration. Hence the shape of its leaf and flower and of its stem and seed were combined in various ways to make designs for carving in wood or metal. Every part of the house was ornamented with such carvings: the door-frame, the doors, beam-ends, every part of a pillar, its base, its body, its cornice, was filled with beautiful carvings. When stone was substituted for wood as material for all this work, designs for wood-carving were transferred to stone, though it is very difficult to copy on stone the kind of carving suited to wood.

Not only fixtures but also all movable articles were filled with decorative carving. Sitting and other planks had many designs cut on them; lotus flowers, cut in metal, were used to make them look pleasing to the eye. All household utensils of wood or metal were works of art. Drinking vessels and water-pots were not only made of the most artistic shapes but were decorated with line-drawing and carving; this continues to be so except in towns where the ugly machine-made products of modern European factories are slowly displacing the products of ancient Indian art-work and the artistic sense of the Indian people being slowly choked out.

¹காலம்.²காலம் புனைப்பு.³வண்மாகல்.

The humblest tool used by the ancient Indian was made of a beautiful shape and was besides decorated; the humble bill book, *arival*,¹ which is hooked on to the waist-string of the labourer, is not only of a beautiful shape, but is provided with leaf shaped notches and the brass ferule which binds it to its handle is decorated with art work. The vegetable knife, used in every house, *arivalmanai*,² has its iron part shaped to resemble a bird and its wooden part covered with line-design. No Indian workman will finish any work of his hands, small or big, humble or otherwise, without putting on it some bit of art work. The country cart, cumbrous as it looks to the careless observer, has every part of it, including the beam, *achchu*,³ on which the frame-work rests and which holds or does duty for the axle-tree is filled with carvings of the lotus flower or the lotus leaves or stems. The rich carvings on temple-cars which are but copies of ancient wood temples, are too well known to require description here.

The extraordinary development of wood-carving (succeeded by stone-carving) in preference to other forms of art in India was due to two causes. Hard woods that lent themselves to most minute carving grew in abundance. But the more important cause is that the aim of Indian art is decorative and not imitative. Ancient Greek art had for its aim the imitation of the forms of men and of natural objects; the nearer the copy was to the original, the more successful was the art product claimed to be. The art work was executed for its own sake, because as Keats said, 'a thing of beauty is a joy for ever'. Hence art was an end in itself and art-objects were not considered decorations of the drawing room or of something other than themselves. Thus the famous frescoes which exist in various parts of the country are but decorations of cave temples and cave-monasteries, just as carving and group-statuary in stone, in stucco, or in wood, are but decorations of the *vimānam*,⁴ *gopuram*,⁵ or the car of the temple. Hence whereas pictures or statues which belong to Greek art are individual objects, those belonging to Indian art are extensive compositions, stories in paint, or stone or wood. Greek art aims at perfection of form, because each art-product exists by itself: Indian art aims at representation of life and moving objects and not still life, because each figure is but the part of an extensive composition. Self-restraint is the chief characteristic of the Greek art, but the Indian artist lets himself go without any restriction on the outflow of his genius. As a singer when performing *alapanam*⁶ of a *rāgam*,⁷ takes a theme and rings endless changes on it, as many as his throat is capable of producing, as a poet, started on a description, seems never to be able to exhaust his subject, so the painter and the carver is never tired of multiplying details in the exposition of the central idea. Foreigners do the greatest injustice possible to Indian art when they take away from their proper place pieces of the stone work of Bharhut or Amarāvati, bits of paintings from Ajanta or Ellora, and judge them divorced from their environment, and in conditions of light different from those where they were originally placed. It looks like judging Shakespeare's plays from a dictionary of quotations.

¹ அரிவல்.
Carry.

² அரிவல் மனை.
Vegetable knife.

³ அச்சு.
Cart.

⁴ விமானம்.

Indian art did not aim at producing specimens for the drawing room, but the æsthetic sense was correlated with other senses, so that every object, big or small, was decorated with art work, the only undecorated objects being the head and neck of a widow who wants to observe life-long mourning. Hence our ladies love to decorate their persons with jewels and silks and it will be an unhappy day for India if their æsthetic sense is blunted by the modern virtue of possessing a bank-balance and they should sell their personal decorations, their 'barbaric pearl and gold' for developing the habit of depositing their wealth in banks. The Tamil ladies of ancient times were decorated in various ways. Their *kündal*¹ was dressed in various artistic ways, one of which was in imitation of *suravu vay*,² shark's mouth. Other ways of *mayirmudi*³ or binding the hair into knots were *uchchi*,⁴ *kondai*,⁵ *koppu*,⁶ *sigaligai*,⁷ *tammilam*,⁸ and *muhchi*.⁹ The different kinds of garlands with which the head and neck were adorned have already been referred to. The body was painted with pastes and powders of various kinds. The chief of the pastes were *manjal*,¹⁰ turmeric or saffron made into a paste, *sandanakkulambu*¹¹ also called *teyvai*,¹² *sandu*,¹³ *toyil*,¹⁴ *toyyil*,¹⁵ sandal paste mixed with various scents. The latter was spread on the chest, the mammae and the abdomen and beautiful designs in line-drawing drawn thereon. A variety of paste for the hair was called *tagaram*.¹⁶ On the paste was strewn powders of several kinds. One such was *porchunnam*,¹⁷ powdered gems, gold, sandal wood, and camphor.

The Tamils were exceedingly fond of decoration; so there are many words meaning to decorate, e.g., *ani*,¹⁸ *är*,¹⁹ *südu*,²⁰ *punai*,²¹ *pün*,²² *malai*,²³ *milai*,²⁴ *vey*,²⁵ *milai*,²⁶ *ey*, *vari*.²⁷

So, too, there are numerous words which mean an ornament, of which some are *ani*,²⁸ *anikalam*,²⁹ *äram*,³⁰ *ilai*,³¹ *nagai*,³² *pani*,³³ *pün*,³⁴ *mañju*,³⁵ *madäni*,³⁶ *valli*.³⁷ The lobes of the ears were pierced to receive the *tödu*³⁸ or *külai*;³⁹ poorer people wore the *olai*,⁴⁰ which was at first a bit of tender palmyra leaf, sometime coloured, rolled into a circle; then the same was made of gold plate rolled into various shapes, including the shapes of mythological monsters; the same, set with gems, became the ear-ornament of the rich, *täluruvi*,⁴¹ *kadukkan*,⁴² *kadippam*,⁴³ *kunukku*,⁴⁴ *kottai*,⁴⁵ *tükam*,⁴⁶ *tongal*,⁴⁷ *vedam*,⁴⁸ were other ear-ornaments. The jewel symbolic of a married woman was the *tali*⁴⁹ now made of gold and of a peculiar shape. Probably the original *tali* was made of the teeth or claws of the bear or the tiger⁵⁰ killed by the husband in the chase. It may be noted that

¹Other names for the hair that adorns the head of ladies were *alagam*, *aimbal*, *odi*, *kural*, *kurul*, *kuñal*, *kúral*, *küñai*, *ködai*, *Suriyal*, *Suru*, *nedumai*, *marattam*; that which grew equally plentifully on men's heads sometimes halfhorn, *ilai*, *ori*, *kuñji*, *kuñumi*, *tañai*, *tongal*, *navir*, *pittai*; besides *kaduppu*, *köli*, which meant both. கடல், அங்கு, சீவுகள், தென், கரு, அரு, குழு, கால், குழு, கரு, சீவு, கரு, கெடுமை, ஏற்றுத்தொ, இலை, தென், அஞ்சி, குழு, சீவு, கெடுமை, கரு, பத்தை, கதுப்பு, சீவு.

²தெய்வாற்று. ³மயிர்முடி. ⁴தெங்கி. ⁵நெடுங்கை. ⁶நெடுங்கூடு. ⁷தெவிலகை. ⁸தெய்வம். ⁹முத்துக்கும்பு. ¹⁰உட்டுக்கும்பு. ¹¹உட்டுக்கும்பு. ¹²தெய்வம். ¹³உட்டுக்கும்பு. ¹⁴உட்டுக்கும்பு. ¹⁵உட்டுக்கும்பு. ¹⁶தெய்வம். ¹⁷உட்டுக்கும்பு. ¹⁸அணி. ¹⁹ஆர். ²⁰ஒடு. ²¹பூஷ. ²²புஞ். ²³மீன். ²⁴விழு. ²⁵வெப்ப. ²⁶மீன். ²⁷ஏரி. ²⁸அணிகள். ²⁹அணிகள். ³⁰ஆரும். ³¹இழை. ³²உகர. ³³பணி. ³⁴புஞ். ³⁵மஞ்ச. ³⁶மதங்கி. ³⁷உணி. ³⁸தெநு. ³⁹குழை. ⁴⁰ஒலி. ⁴¹நாக்குஞ். ⁴²கடுகன். ⁴³கடுப்பம். ⁴⁴குஞ்சுகு. ⁴⁵உகர்ட்டை. ⁴⁶நாக்கம். ⁴⁷உதங்கல். ⁴⁸வெட்டு. ⁴⁹நாலி. ⁵⁰புலப்பற்றுவி. *Kurundogai* 161.

South Indian women of all castes regard the *tali* as the most sacred symbol of marriage, so much so that they will rather die than be without it for a second. But the tying of a *tali* is not according to the Arya canon-law or North Indian practice an essential part of the wedding rite. According to the Arya law taking seven steps (*saptapati*) with the taking of the bride's hand (*pānigrahanam*) constitutes the act of marriage and if the bridegroom should die before the *saptapati* is completed, the woman does not become a widow and is fit for marrying another man. But this is not the belief of the women. What can be inferred from this? Either the first Brāhmaṇas of South India were Tamil men affiliated to the Brāhmaṇa priesthood or, if they were all emigrants from North India, they took unto themselves Tamil women as their wives; women being noted for their conservatism, the Tamil custom of tying a *tali* as a symbol of marriage had to be given a premier place in the Brāhmaṇa wedding-rite. It is difficult to believe that, if the first Brāhmaṇa men and women were both foreign emigrants, they borrowed a Tamil custom and made it more important than their Arya ones. Other important ornaments were strings of gold-thread, pearls, coral, etc., provided with pendants set with gems. They were called *kal*,¹ *tāmam*,² *savi*,³ *saraḍu*,⁴ *kodi*,⁵ *nāñ*,⁶ *sangili*,⁷ *kayil*,⁸ *kaḍai*,⁹ *kovai*,¹⁰ *todar*,¹¹ *kokkuvām*.¹² The pendants besides the *tali*, were *kavaḍi*,¹³ *sarappāli*,¹⁴ etc. At the waist were also worn strings of gold or silver, *kuryāguśeri*,¹⁵ *kavānañi*,¹⁶ *pattigai*,¹⁷ on which were strung little tinkling bells, *sadaṅgai*,¹⁸ *kinkini*.¹⁹ Ornaments for the ankles were *śilambu*,²⁰ *kaṭal*,²¹ *pādagam*.²² They were also furnished with tinkling bells. At the wrists and above the elbows were worn *valai*,²³ literally a circle, *kāppu*,²⁴ a guard, *kanṛu*,²⁵ *kurugu*,²⁶ *sāṅgu*,²⁷ *sāri*,²⁸ *śūdagam*,²⁹ *todi*,³⁰ *vāṇḍu*,³¹ *valli*,³² *pidigam*.³³ Several forms of wristlets, bracelets and anklets were given by kings as a reward for feats of strength or skill. The fingers and toes were ornamented with rings, *mōdiram*,³⁴ *alipili*.³⁵ Women wore a cap of pearls for the mammae,³⁶ which were tied by means of a belt, *mulaikkachchu*.³⁷ Besides human beings, elephants, horses, bulls and even vehicles were heavily decorated.

Here is a description of a highly-decorated cot. 'They take the tusks of the fiercely-fighting elephant, which have dropped of their own accord, and cut the sides till they are of uniform shape and colour, fix between them leaves carved by the sharp chisels of the skilled carpenter. They place all round panels carved with scenes of lion-hunting and lined with many-coloured hairs of tigers; they decorate it with twigs, jasmin and other flowers; they furnish the cot with windows. Then they hang all around the broad cot, curtains made of pearls strung on thread. They tie tapes woven with coloured lines so as to look like the stripes of a tiger. The ends of the legs of the cot are rounded like bowls which look like the breasts of a pregnant woman; above the bowls, the legs are made to look like roots of

¹ తలి. ² తామం. ³ సవి. ⁴ సరదు. ⁵ కోడి. ⁶ నాన. ⁷ పత్తిగిలి. ⁸ కెలిల. ⁹ కాడా. ¹⁰ చెరాయి. ¹¹ ఉత్తర. ¹² ఉసక్కువామ. ¹³ వాడ. ¹⁴ చెరపబి. ¹⁵ గురంగుచెర. ¹⁶ కవానాని. ¹⁷ పట్టకుడు. ¹⁸ చెంకుడు. ¹⁹ కించిచిలి. ²⁰ చిలమపు. ²¹ కాఫలు. ²² పెర్తకమ. ²³ ఎణ. ²⁴ కాప్ప. ²⁵ సందు. ²⁶ కులు. ²⁷ చెంకు. ²⁸ ఏరి. ²⁹ కుటసం. ³⁰ ఉత్తర. ³¹ ఎణదు. ³² వంచి. ³³ పట్టకు. ³⁴ చెరితమ. ³⁵ జుధిల. ³⁶ అప్పతణి ఉరంకుడు *Tiruvāśagam* ix. 10-1. ³⁷ ములైకచుచు అప్పతణి ఉరంకుడు పాటత. *Nedunelvādai* 136.

garlic. The bed, stitched thin and broad, was filled with the pure-coloured down of a swan in love; on it were placed pillows; on it was spread a sheet, woven with figures of the water-lily and well-starched.'

AMUSEMENTS

The ancient Tamils were a mirth loving people; they gave themselves up to merry-making frequently. Till Aryan religious ideas took firm root in their minds in the post-Christian centuries pessimism did not pull them down. They did not indulge in dark cogitations about the evils of earthly existence and seek for means to abolish the present joys of life for securing a future state of unchanging bliss. Their religious rites, *vilavu*² were accompanied by drinking, singing, dancing and dumb show. Their secular amusements were the chase, *vettai*,³ *agēdagam*⁴, *pābatti*⁵, wrestling, *marpor*⁶, sword play, single stick, *śilambam*⁷, racing with chariots, elephants, bulls, etc. *pandayam*,⁸ playing with balls, *ammānai*⁹, *pandu*¹⁰, gambling and playing with shells, *kavadi*¹¹, *palagarai*¹², *alagu*¹³, *soli*¹⁴. Music was called *isai*¹⁵ or *pātū*¹⁶, and has been partly discussed under war. Different kinds of tunes, *pan*,¹⁷ one at least for each region, was developed. Probably the *pan* of *kuriñji* is the tune called *kuriñji* to-day. That of *mallai* was perhaps what is now called *madhyamāvati*, for this is also called *brindāvana sāranga*. That of *marudam* was perhaps that called *kēdāram*, for *kēdāram*, like *marudam*, means a ploughed field. The *pan* for Neydal was probably that now called *punnāgavarāli*, that now used for sailor's songs. Instrumental music was called *pān* and as bards accompanied their songs with playing on the *yāl*, they were called *pānar*. There were various forms of drums, the beating of which accompanied singing and dancing. Different kinds of measures or volleys were beaten for different occasions. As specimens, the following may be mentioned: *erukōṭparai*,¹⁸ the cattle

1 பெருதெழி கட மொழியெலி ரகுகெற்றத்
சிரஞ் செம்மையு மொப்ப வல்லேங்
குரனிக் குபின்ற வீரிஸ பிடைப்பிடு
அங்கியன் மகளிர் வீங்குழலை கடிப்பப்
புடைதீரண் டிருந் குடந் விடைதீரண்
உஸ்ளி சேரன்முதல் பெராத்தி யடிப்பமைந்துப்
பேரள வெய்திய பெரும்பெயர்ப் பாண்டிள்
முடையா ஜுன்னையை பெருவியத் தெரட்டமான்டு
குத்தடைச் சாலை காற்றிக் குத்தடைத்துப்
புலிப்பெருதிக் கொண்ட புஷ்டேந் தட்டத்துத்
தடுகென் புதைபக் கொல்லிக் குதங்காச்
ஆட்டரை பஞ்சலிர் விரோதி வயான்
வேட்டம் பெருத்து விபங்கட் கானத்து
முல்லைப் பல்லேர தறநூப் புஷ்டைத்து
மெல்லிதின் விரிந்த சேக்கை மேம்படத்
திண்ணுண ரண்ணத் தாந்தர் ஜவி
பிண்ணயணை மேம்படப் பாயனை மட்டுக்
காட்டுகொண்ட கழுந்து கலிங்கத்துத்
தெரட்டமாத் துமடி விரிந்த சேக்கை.
Nedunalvādai 117-135.

² விழு. ³ வேட்டை. ⁴ ஜூகேகம். ⁵ பரப்தி. ⁶ மற்பேர். ⁷ சிலம்பம். ⁸ பக்தபம்
⁹ அம்மான். ¹⁰ பக்த. ¹¹ கவு. ¹² பலகை. ¹³ அரு. ¹⁴ சேறி. ¹⁵ ஜூ. ¹⁶ பட்டு.
¹⁷ பண். ¹⁸ ஏற்கெட்டப்பாற.

ting measure, *murugiyam*¹, measure for *veriyattam*², Muruga incense, *maṇamulavu*³, marriage drum, *nellarikinai*,⁴ harvest drum, *rōttuppārai*⁵, the drum beaten for dragging cars, *pūrappāttupārai*,⁶ the drum announcing the king's or a god's going out of the *kōil*, *mīnkōṭpārai*⁷, the drum beat announcing a haul of fish, *śūraikōṭpārai*⁸, dacoity-drum. Different kinds of noises were also emitted from trumpets to suit various occasions, auspicious and inauspicious, marriage or death processions.

Dancing, *attam*⁹, *kūttru*¹⁰, was of various kinds. Almost every incident of life had its appropriate dance. *Kūttru*, *kālī*¹¹, *kunippū*,¹² was a kind of dumb show, in which ideas were expressed by dancing and by elaborate gestures. This was the ancient form of the Tamil drama—the drama where the characters spoke or sang their parts belonged to North India—and is still kept up in Malabar under the name *kathakālī*¹³. *Kūttar*¹⁴, *kānūlār*¹⁵, and *kūttiyan*¹⁶ were elaborately made up. The actresses were women of easy virtue for *kūttiyan* has come to mean harlots. Children's dances were *kummi*¹⁷, *tēllenam*¹⁸, *sālāl*¹⁹, *ōrai*²⁰, etc. Boys played a kind of primitive cricket, in which the bat and the ball were both represented by long and short sticks, *kīttru*²¹, *pūl*.²²

Music was dispensed by wandering bards who were generally famished if they stuck to their homes.

'O Pānan, whose legs are tired by wandering from place to place like birds in search of fruits on hills which are covered by mist on the cessation of rain, because you have no one to support you in the world surrounded by the sea, and are surrounded by relatives crying for food, whose body is emaciated and whose mouth denounces the learning he has acquired'.²³

Angling was another amusement. The following is a description of angling :—

'The expert angler of the pānar tribe carries on his shoulders a leather-bag full of bits of meat and sticks it at the end of a string tied to a long bamboo stick ; the fish bites the meat hanging at the bent end of the angling-rod and shakes the string ; missing it, the vālai fish stays with open mouth.'²⁴

Capturing game by means of nets was another favourite amusement.

1 முருகியம். 2 வெற்பாட்டம் 3 மணமுழவு. 4 கால்லசிகிணை. 5 தேர்ரூட்டுப்பாறை. 6 புதுப்பாட்டுப்பாறை. 7 மீன்சேர்ப்பாறை. 8 குகைசேர்ப்பாறை. 9 ஆட்டம். 10 குத்து. 11 காலி. 12 குனிப்பு. 13 கதகாலி. 14 கநுலார். 15 குட்டியனர். 16 குத்தியர். 17 கும்மி. 18 குத்தேனனம். 19 சாலால். 20 ஓரை. 21 கிட்டு. 22 பூல்.

23 தங்கடல் வரைப்பிற ருங்குந் பெறுத
பெற்றிமழு தநாத் புதக்கேல் குங்ரத்துப்
பழுயரக் தேரும் பழவை போலக்
கல்லவன் ஏற்றுமொடு கால்களாந்த திரிதரும்
புல்லவன் பாக்கைப் புலவுராய்ப் பரை.

Perumbāñāṛyūppadai, 18-22.

24 பஞ்சுந் பெய்த சுவால்பினி கைத்தோற்
சேர்வால் பரங்கமன் தலைவித் தியாத்த
கெடுங்கழைத் துண்டி அடுங்க உரங்கொலி இக்
சேருவார் விரும்பின் யடிதலை குலம்பை
பெருதில்கை கதவிய சூற்றுவுப் பரை.

Perumbāñāṛyūppadai, 283-287.

' Hard-eyed hunters fix closely woven nets on the thorns of the hedges of fields in Pālāī land and drive into them rabbits which have long ears like the outer petals of the thorny-stalked lotus, they then proceed along with dogs whose jaws are wide-open, beat the shrubs and hunt the rabbit and eat them.'

Trials of strength by wrestling was also a common amusement among the Tamils ; the following is a description of *marpor*, wrestling² :—

In Āmūr which produces sweet and strong liquor he overcame the great strength of the wrestler ; he bent one of his knees and planted it on his adversary's chest ; with the other leg he defeated the tactics, bent the back of his rival ; as an elephant which tries to eat a bamboo, he hammered his rival's head and feet and conquered him : may Tittan the heroic father of the wrestler see the sight, whether it would please him or not.

MEANS OF TRANSPORT

Walking was the only means of transport in nomad times. Modern anthropological opinion is coming round to the view that the Stone Age man was a great wanderer from the earliest times and that there was much intercourse between Asia and Africa on the one hand, and Europe and even America on the other, if not as much as there is in these days of the steam engine. The primitive nomad, hide-clad or skyclad, shouldered his tools and walked from country to country and spread the different stages of palæolithic culture all over the world. The motive for this travel was perhaps quest for food and the necessity for avoiding climatic rigour; or perhaps it was merely due to wanderlust and to the non-development of house building and of the habit of storing wealth, and living in one place to guard it from enemies. With the building of permanent habitations and the development of a love of luxury man began to make vehicles. The earliest kind of vehicle was the cart, *vandil*³ also called *urdī*,⁴ *olugai*⁵, *sagadū*⁶, *sādū*,⁷ *vaiyam*.⁸ *Vandil* now shortened into *vandī* literally means the bent place, from root of *val* to bend, whence *valai*⁹ to surround, to besiege,

¹ பகுவாய் குமலிடூடி வைப்புத் தெருக்கித்
தொகுவாய் வேல்த் தொடர்வை மாட்டு
முன்னாற் : ரயகைப் புல்லித் புகரபு
கெடுக்கெலிக் குத்துபல் போக்கு வளைகித்
கடுங்கட் கானார் கடை கட்டுக்கணு
மகுஞ்சுரம்.

Perumbānār̄yūp̄padai, 1.1-117.

² இனிகடிக் கண்ணி குழு ராக்கங்
கைக்குடை மல்லங் மதவலி முருக்கி
பெரக்கான் மார்பொதும் கிள்ளே கெரகுகால்
அருதார் தூங்கிப் பின்னெழுதும் கிள்ளே
கல்கினும் கங்கா அப்பும் வெல்போசுப்
போகுக் திநதன் கான்கதி வம்ம
பசித்துப் பண்முபதும் யானை போல
விருதலை யோகிய வெற்றக்
கனம்புகு மல்லற் கடக்கு நிலையே.

Puram. 80.

to tie, and as a noun, a hole, also bangles, from their circular shape, a discus, a conch, *valaiyam*¹, a tank, a hoop, *vattil*², a basket, a tray, a cup, *vattam*³, a circle, a bull roarer, a shield, a tank, all named from the shape, *vattanai*⁴, a circle, a cymbal, *vatti*⁵, a spheroidal pawn used in gambling, *vanangu*⁶, to bow, to adore, *vanar*⁷, an arched roof, *vandu*,⁸ a beetle that wheels round and round, *vali*⁹, whirlwind, *vallam*¹⁰, a round eating tray, *valli*¹¹, a bracelet. From early times the people were familiar with a cart and named its various parts. *Achchu*¹², the axle tree, *āni*¹³ (a word found also in the *Rig Veda*), *iruśu*,¹⁴ *kandu*¹⁵, axle pin, *urulai*¹⁶, *undai*¹⁷, *kāl*¹⁸, wheel, *ār*¹⁹, spokes *sūdu*²⁰, tyre, *kurađu*²¹ hub, etc. All parts of the cart were heavily carved.²² The carts were used more for purposes of trade than for travel. Kings and noblemen used a *ter*, car, as already described. The main streets of a city and the roads intended for travel by royal cars were broad. The cars were dragged by bulls, elephants, and in later times by horses. Kings and noblemen also travelled in palanquins, *pallakku*²³, *anigam*²⁴, *tandigai*²⁵; those with gems embedded on them were called *kañjigai*²⁶. Transport on water was by means of boats of several kinds and made in several ways, *kappal*²⁷, *ōdam*²⁸, *ambi*²⁹, *tōni*³⁰, *teppam*³¹, *pariśal*³², *padagu*³³, *kalam*³⁴, *udubam*³⁵, *kōlam*³⁶, *tollam*³⁷, *pagadu*³⁸, *pađuvai*³⁹, *patti*⁴⁰, *puruvai*⁴¹, *punai*⁴², *midavai*⁴³, *vallam*⁴⁴, *timil*⁴⁵. It needs scarcely be added that the heads of boats were carved in the shape of the face of lions, elephants, horses, etc., and they were called in later times *arimugavambi*⁴⁶, *karimugavambi*⁴⁷, *kudiraimugavambi*⁴⁸ respectively. Boats were made in several ways; thus *teppam* was a float made of logs bound together, *timil*, a catamaran for fishing, *tōni*, a wicker work construction covered with hide, *valam*, a dugout, *padagu*, *kappal*, sailing boats and *ōdam*, one rowed with oars. Sailing boats were furnished with *kumbu*⁴⁹, mast and *pay*⁵⁰, *idai*⁵¹, sails.

Many words were used to indicate a ship: *ambi*,⁵² *ōngal*,⁵³ *kalam*,⁵⁴ *śadā*,⁵⁵ *śongu*,⁵⁶ *timil*,⁵⁷ *tollai*,⁵⁸ *tōni*,⁵⁹ *navvu*,⁶⁰ *pāhri*,⁶¹ *pādai*,⁶² *pāradi*,⁶³ *pāru*,⁶⁴ *punai*,⁶⁵ *pōdam*,⁶⁶ *madalai*,⁶⁷ *vāngam*,⁶⁸ *pori*,⁶⁹. The Tamils ought to have been very familiar with boats and ships and to have constantly used them for purposes of transport by water, before they were prompted to invent nearly twenty names for it. The eastern and western coast lines were in olden days dotted with numerous ports, many of which have become useless on account of the retreat of the sea and almost all of which have become deserted by the modern developments of commercial intercourse by sea.

1வளையம். 2வட்டல். 3வட்டம். 4வட்டணம். 5வட்டி. 6வணக்கு. 7வணர். 8வணடு. 9வளி. 10வணாம். 11வள்ளி. 12ஶஷ. 13ஆணி. 14இருச. 15கந்த. 16ஏருச. 17உண்ணல். 18கால. 19ஆர். 20குடு. 21குருடு. 22கருளி பெருத வகூவழ் சேஞ்குறுத் திருத் துற்கத வயில்வழ் சேமி

Sirupānārrupadai, 252-253.

The wheel whose tyre went round felloes inserted in a hub on which figures were carved with a sharp chisel,

23பங்குக்கு. 24அனிகம். 25தன்டிகை. 26கஞ்சிகை. 27கப்பல். 28ஓடும். 29அம்பி. 30செந்தி. 31தெப்பம். 32பரிசு. 33பட்டு. 34வெம். 35உடுபம். 36செங்கும். 37தெங்கும். 38பகு. 39புதை. 40பட்டு. 41புரை. 42புணை. 43மதைவு. 44வள்ளம். 45திமில். 46அரிமுகவழி. 47கசிமுகவழி. 48குதிரைமுகவழி. 49கும்பு. 50பரப். 51இகைத. 52அம்பி. 53ஒங்கல். 54கலம். 55சதா. 56சொங்கு. 57திமில். 58செந்தி. 59செங்கு. 60உங்கல். 61பகிற். 62புதை. 63பராதி. 64பரப். 65புணை. 66பெருத். 67மதைவு. 68வங்கம். 69பெரத்.

Food

Before discussing the food habits of the ancient Tamils it may be pointed out that Indians, throughout the ages, have been mainly vegetarians. Not that they did not love the taste of meat; on the contrary when they got it they ate it with great delight.¹ Nor did they throw to the dogs the game they hunted, without consuming it themselves. But Indians never made the flesh of animals their staple food like the people of Western Europe. The latter living in countries where cereals cannot be produced in abundance, have been forced by their environment to adopt meat as their chief article of food and add to their dietary a minimum quantity of vegetable substance, because meat by itself is not a perfect food and because they cannot resist nature's urge to consume vegetable products charged with the chlorides, and iodides, the sulphates and phosphates and other salts necessary for the healthy life of a body. To use Indian phraseology, meat is their food and vegetable their curry; that is they eat meat to sustain their bodies and cereals and other vegetarian food to add relish to their meat. In India the position is reversed. Rice, wheat, the millets and the pulses are our food, and meat (and green-vegetables) our curry; that is we eat rice or wheat or millet and the seeds of legumes to rebuild tissue lost by combustion, and meat and green vegetables turned into curry to add relish to the cereals which are mostly insipid in themselves and unfitted to stimulate to activity the glands which secrete saliva and other juices necessary for dissolving and digesting starches and proteids. In other words meat is food to Europeans and but curry to Indians. In this connection I may point out that curry, *kari*², is the name in Tamil not only of curried meat or vegetable and of sauce in general, but also

¹ A bard thus describes how he gobbled meat when he was plied with it by a royal patron :

தாதுப் தற்றப் தடகவையும் புழக்கின்
பராக வேகவ பருடெனத் தண்டக்
ஏழந் தட்ட சோழன் சோழங்குஷர்
புதி அழின் வாப்பெய் சொற்ற
யகவைவை முனிகுவ மெனினே கவைய

Porunarārūppadai, 103-107.

'He urged me many times to eat the stout, well boiled loin of a ram fed with bundles of arugu grass (*Agrostis Linearis*). I ate big lumps of fat flesh, roasted at the end of iron spikes, and, as they were hot, shifted them from the right side of the mouth to the left to cool them. I then said we did not require any more boiled or roasted meat.' And again—

தெல்லை புழக்காறு வேய்ப்பப் பல்லை
பெல்லையு மிரு முந்தா மழுங்கி
புரிசிப்பிடம் பெறா தண்முனிக்கு

Ibid., 117-119.

'Our teeth, on account of eating meat night and day, became blunt like the blade (plough-share) of the plough with which the garden in the back yard is ploughed, and having no place for rest got disgusted with food. And again—

பால்வகைந் தருளை ஏடுமின் மீதப்ப
வயிழ்ர் காலை

Ibid., 115-116.

'When I swallowed milk and fried meat till I was filled to the neck.'

² e.g.

means black pepper. This proves that in old times meat and vegetables were boiled with black pepper to turn into curry. In passing I may remark that chilly, *capsicum*, now universally used as a substitute for black pepper in Indian cookery, is a thing introduced into this country from Chili in South America, in recent times, that is, after the rise of modern European trade with India. Hence it has no *idukuri*¹ names as has black pepper, i.e., *mriyal*², *milagu*³, *kari*⁴, *kalinai*⁵, *kayam*⁶, *tirangal*⁷, but merely a *karanappayar*⁸, viz., *milagukay*⁹, the fruit that produces a substance like pepper, in Telugu, *miryiapukaya*, the *miriymam*—fruit. Europeans imported pepper from old India from before the Christian Era, their tongues having been captivated by its biting taste or rather touch, for it is touch nerves and not taste nerves that are titillated by the bite of pepper; hence Sanskrit has a *karanappayar*, *yoga*—name for pepper, namely *yavana priyā*, dear to the *yavana*, i.e., the Greeks and the Romans. Though the ancient *yavanas* carried pepper from India in their ships they made a mess of its name, for they did not borrow for it its proper name of *kari*, or *mriyal* or *milagu*, but called it *pippali* (whence *pepperos*, pepper) which is the name of long pepper¹⁰. In the middle ages Western Europe imported pepper from India, not for eating, but for sprinkling its powder on meat before drying it for use as food in wintry weather. Such meat was called ‘powdered meat’. Thus pepper was a luxury in ancient Europe and a necessity in mediæval Europe; Venetian bottoms, at first, and later Dutch ones, carried pepper to Western Europe and it was because the avaricious merchants of Holland doubled the price of pepper at the end of the sixteenth century, that in 1599 the East India Company was started, the final result of which was the development of the British Empire in India.

To return to the ancient Tamils. They ate meat, the various names of which *un*¹¹, *inaichchi*¹², *pulal*¹³, *tunnu*¹⁴, *uttai*¹⁵, *ulttal*¹⁶, *taśai*,¹⁷ *tadi*¹⁸, *tūvu*¹⁹, *pun*²⁰, *purangi*²¹, *pulavu*²², *vallūram*²³, *vidakku*²⁴, indicate their fondness for it, as curry and not as food, just as their modern descendants do. This curry was of various kinds (1) *kuy*²⁵, *taſitta kari*²⁶, sprinkled with pepper powder, mustard, etc., fried in oil; (2) *karunai*²⁷, *porikkari*²⁸, *varai*²⁹, *tuvaṭṭaykari*³⁰, fried meat; (3) *tuvai*³¹, *pulingari*³², meat boiled with tamarind and pepper. While on the subject of *kari* I may mention also *kādi*³³, *ūrukari*³⁴, pickles, fruits soaked in oil or water with flavouring substances.³⁵

The Aryas of North India were as great lovers of meat as were the Tamils of South India. From the evidence of the Vedic mantras we

¹ இடுக்கி. ² மிரியல். ³ மின்து. ⁴ சுற்று. ⁵ கலிஞ்சு. ⁶ காயம். ⁷ திரங்கல். ⁸ கருணப்பூயம். ⁹ மின்துமை. ¹⁰ திப்பலி. ¹¹ உன். ¹² இதைச்சி. It is noteworthy that the word also means, that which is agreeable. ¹³ புலால். ¹⁴ தன்னு. ¹⁵ ஆத்தை. ¹⁶ ஆம்ததை. ¹⁷ தை. ¹⁸ தடி. ¹⁹ தழு. ²⁰ புண். ²¹ புரங்கி. ²² புலா. ²³ உள்ளும். ²⁴ விடக்கு. ²⁵ குப். ²⁶ தெவித்த ஏதி. ²⁷ தருமை. ²⁸ பெரிக்கரி. ²⁹ வரை. ³⁰ துவட்டதை. ³¹ துவை. ³² புளிங்கரி. ³³ ஏதி. ³⁴ ஏதை.

³⁵ மூத்துணவு

கொடுமரக் கொடுக்கி தூநவடி விதிர்த்த
தூநமான கடி

Perumbānāyārūppadai, 308–310

The sweet-smelling tender clustered fruit of the mango, preserved.

learn that 'horses',¹ 'bulls'², 'buffaloes'³, 'rams'⁴, and 'goats'⁵ were killed on slaughter-benches, *sūnā*,⁶ cooked in caldrons,⁷ and eaten. The eating of fishes and birds must have also prevailed because fishing and bird-catching are referred to.⁸ In North India there was developed a prejudice against eating the village-fowl, because it feeds on all kinds of repulsive offal; such a prejudice does not seem to have ever risen in South India. In early times there was no sentiment against beef-eating in North India. In the later Vedic age the objection to the eating the flesh of the bull and the cow first arose. Says the *Satapatha Brahmana*, 'Let him not eat (the flesh) of either the cow or the ox; for the cow and the ox doubtless support everything here on earth. The Gods spake, 'verily the cow and the ox support everything here: Come, let us bestow on the cow and the ox whatever belongs to other species; accordingly they bestowed on the cow and the ox whatever vigour belonged to other species of animals; and therefore the cow and the ox eat most. Hence were one to eat the flesh of an ox or of a cow, there would be as it were an eating of everything, or as it were a going on to the end or to destruction. Such a one indeed would be likely to be born again as a strange being (as one of whom there is) evil report, such as he has expelled an embryo from a woman, he has committed a sin; let him therefore not eat the flesh of the cow and the ox. Nevertheless Yājñavalkya said, 'I for one eat it, provided that it is tender.'⁹ Yājñavalkya Rishi, who probably belonged to the early years of the first millennium B.C. was not frightened by the threat that the eating of beef was tantamount to the dreaded sin of *brūṇahatti*; hence the virulent disgust at the very idea of beef-eating that is the marked characteristic of the Hindus to-day is less than of three thousand years' standing. South Indians too of ancient times did not seem to have had much objection to eat the flesh of the cow. As was the case with all other things they liked, they had several names for beef, viz., *valluram*¹⁰, *sūttiraičchi*¹¹, *sūsiyam*¹², *padittiram*.¹³ In later times the objection to beef-eating became violent all through India except among the depressed classes, whose social degradation made them so poor and so incapable of earning enough food that they had no objection to meat of any kind—the flesh of the cow or the buffalo and even the flesh of animals that have died on account of disease. Among the other classes the sentiment against beef-eating developed primarily on account of economical causes. The above is plainly indicated by the remark in the passage from the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* that 'were one to eat the flesh of an ox or a cow, there would be as it were, a going on to the end or to destruction'; besides the need of cattle for agriculture, other reasons were the wide use of milk and milk products in Indian dietary and the moral reason, i.e., the love inspired by the meek and gentle-eyed cow.

The chief cereal used by the Tamils was the paddy *nel*¹⁴, *vari*¹⁵, the names of various varieties of which existed, such as *śenjāli*¹⁶, *śennel*¹⁷,

¹A.V. vi. 71, 1. ²R. V. i. 164. 43. ³R. V. v. 29. 7. ⁴R. V., x. 27. 17.

⁵A.V. i. 162-3. ⁶R. V. x. 86. 18. ⁷R. V. iii. 53. 22.

⁸P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Life in Ancient India*, p. 49.

⁹S.B. iii. 1. 2. 21, Eggeling's Translation, ii, p. 11.

¹⁰கால்புரி. ¹¹குடியம். ¹²படித்திரம். ¹³காலு. ¹⁴கால. ¹⁵கால. ¹⁶கெஞ்சால். ¹⁷கால்கால்.

¹¹கட்டுக்கற்கி. ¹²குடியம். ¹³படித்திரம். ¹⁴காலு. ¹⁵கால. ¹⁶கெஞ்சால். ¹⁷கால்கால்.

sol¹, iyavai², aivanam³; paddy three years old and very healthy eating, *asam⁴*; *pongali⁵*, was paddy not dusted. Ordinarily paddy was boiled before it was husked; this was called *pulungalari⁶*, and as the health-giving vitamins and the muscle-building rice germs are best preserved in this form of rice, it was most widely eaten. Raw rice was called *pachchaiari⁷*. Well pounded rice cleaned well of bran was called *kuttalari⁸*, or *avaiyal⁹* and one not very well cleaned was *koliyalarisi¹⁰*. The chief way of cooking rice was to boil it in water. As boiled rice was the principal food it had very many names, *adisil¹¹, amalai¹², amudu¹³, ayini¹⁴, avi¹⁵, avil¹⁶, aluppu¹⁷, un¹⁸, undi¹⁹, un²⁰, kūl²¹, sadi²², sādam²³, sonyi²⁴, sōru²⁵, tuppū²⁶, tori²⁷, parukkai²⁸, pāttu²⁹, piśi³⁰, pugarvu³¹, pułukkal³², purkai³³, pommal³⁴, porugu³⁵, madai³⁶, miśai³⁷, midavai³⁸, mūral³⁹, valsi⁴⁰.*

Rice boiled along with pulses was called *pongal⁴¹*. The human palate insistently demands variety in the matter of cooking: other preparations of rice to meet this demand were *kali⁴², kūl⁴³, tulavai⁴⁴*, different forms of porridge, *kañji⁴⁵*, gruel, *nīrāram⁴⁶*, rice-water, *tōsai⁴⁷, adai⁴⁸*, different forms of rice-bread. *Pori⁴⁹* parched rice, was another favourite food. Cakes were called *viragu⁵⁰* or *paniyoram⁵¹*, such as *appam⁵², pittu⁵³, akkulli⁵⁴, andagai⁵⁵, ilaiyadai⁵⁶, nolai⁵⁷, melladai⁵⁸, pollal⁵⁹, poli⁶⁰, mandigai⁶¹ id⁶², sahkulli⁶³, nuvanai⁶⁴, ochchai⁶⁵, tuvai⁶⁶, sidai⁶⁷, vadai⁶⁸*. For some of these other grains than rice, such as *ulundu⁶⁹, el⁷⁰*, and many pulses were also used.

The grains eaten varied from region to region. Thus *varagu⁷¹*, *Paspalum trumentaceum*, *sāmai⁷²*, panicum, *mudirai⁷³*, beans and lentils, were eaten in Mullai; the mountain-rice called *aivanam⁷⁴*, *tinai⁷⁵*, *Panicum italicum*, *mūngilarisi⁷⁶*, bamboo rice, in Kuriñji; *Sennel⁷⁷* and *vennel⁷⁸* red rice and white rice, in Marudam; in Pálai they ate whatever they could get by pillage and in Neydal, whatever they could barter for fish and salt.

Other things eaten were honey, *ten⁷⁹*, which was also called *naravu⁸⁰* *narai⁸¹*, *pili⁸²*, *mattu⁸³*, *tādu⁸⁴*, *pāgu⁸⁵* chiefly eaten in Kuriñji,

1. செல். 2. இயகல். 3. கைவன். 4. அம். 5. போஞ்சல். 6. புகுங்கலரி. 7. பச்சைடரிகி.
8. குத்தலரி. 9. அவைபல். 10. தெற் வந்தி. 11. ஏடுகில். 12. அமலை. 13. அமலை. 14. அமீன்.
15. அவி. 16. அவிம். 17. அபுபு. 18. உதை. 19. உதை. 20. உதை. 21. கழி. 22. கழி. 23. காதம்.
24. செந்தி. 25. செந். 26. தப்பு. 27. செந்தி. 28. புருங்கை. 29. பாந்தத். 30. பிளி. 31. புருங்.
32. புகுங்கல். 33. புதை. 34. போஞ்சல். 35. பொருகு. 36. மகட. 37. மகட. 38. மிதைவ.
39. முறு. 40. எல்தி.

முகிழ்தநாய
முகவ போகிய முரியா வரிகி
விரலென சிமிர்க்க நிரவமை புகுக்கல்.

Porunarāyyruppādai, 112-14.

Rice grains, whole and unbroken, without lines on its surface like the tender buds of the mullai, *Jasminum trichotomum*, cooked so that each grain looked like a finger and was not sticking to the other grains. Cakes made of rice are thus described.

குதை
கெடுப்பு முருவின் விரு.

Ibid. 107-8.

Sweet cakes skilfully made of variegated shapes.

41. புருங்கை. 42. தெறி. 43. கழி. 44. துமதை. 45. கஞ்சி. 46. செந்தை. 47. செந்தை. 48. அகட.
49. பெரி. 50. பாரு. 51. பணியராம். 52. தப்பு. 53. பிட்டு. 54. அகிங்குலி. 55. அக்கடைய.
56. இனியகல். 57. செலை. 58. மல்லகை. 59. பெருவல். 60. பெலி. 61. மங்குடைய. 62. கிழி.
63. கங்குலி. 64. துவக்கை. 65. திசை. 66. துவக்கை. 67. தை. 68. வை. 69. குறுத்த. 70. கெட்.
71. சாரு. 72. செநம். 73. மதிகை. 74. இவகை. 75. தினை. 76. முங்கிலரி. 77. செந்தைய.
78. செங்கெல். 79. செல். 80. செபு. 81. செபு. 82. பிழி. 83. மட்டு. 84. மாது. 85. பாரு.

ten and *tinai ma¹* being a favourite combination; *vellam²*, *akkaram³* jaggery, was substituted for honey in Marudam, sugar was not freely used, it being originally a product imported from China; there is no *idukuri* name for it in Sanskrit or Tamil; Sanskrit *sarkkara* (whence European names of sugar are derived) as well as Tamil *ayir,⁴* sugar, originally meant sand and were, by metonymy, extended to jaggery refined into a powdery form. Jaggery was manufactured by boiling down the juice of the sugar-cane, *karumbu⁵*, also called *kalai⁶*, *kannal⁷*, *velal⁸*, to molasses, *teral⁹*, *tenpāgu¹⁰*, *kulambu¹¹*, *anam,¹²* and cooled in pots or wooden moulds, *achchu*.

Milk and milk products were used largely. The chief milk products were *edu¹³*, cream, *tayir¹⁴*, *perugu¹⁵*, *musaru¹⁶*, curdled milk, *mor¹⁷*, *arumbam¹⁸*, *alai¹⁹*, *machchigai²⁰*, *musar²¹*, curdled milk from which butter has been churned out, *venney²²*, *venkatti²³*, butter, and *neý²⁴*, ghi. It is curious that though ghi is clarified butter, the name for the latter is derived from the former, for *venney* is but white ghi. The cause of this order of naming the original article from the derived one is not quite clear; probably as butter cannot keep without getting rancid in tropical climates, it was never stored, but immediately after it was churned out, it was turned into ghi and the necessity for a name for the intermediate product was not felt for a long time.

That in the matter of food Aryan India and Tamil India had absolutely the same customs is proved by the fact that meat of all kinds was eaten both in the North and the South and by the following account of Arya food, other than meat. 'Of the animal food derived from the living animal, milk²⁵ sometimes mixed with honey²⁶ brought by toiling bees²⁷, ghi²⁸, butter²⁹ and curds³⁰ were consumed. Yava is frequently mentioned in the sense of corn in general or barley. (Wheat and barley were the grains used by the Aryas in addition to the South Indian ones). Rice, barley, beans and sesamum were the chief vegetable foodstuffs of the day.³¹ Grain was eaten parched³² and made into cakes³³ or boiled in water³⁴ or in milk.³⁵ Meal boiled with curd into Karambha³⁶ and gruel,³⁷ i.e., parched meal boiled in milk were other forms of food. . . . As now hot freshly cooked food was preferred³⁸ to cold food. Fruits were also eaten.³⁹ Food was served on leaf-platters,⁴⁰ the lotus leaf being commonly used for the purpose. Skins filled with honey⁴¹ or curds, jars⁴² of honey,⁴³ rice husked by servant-girls⁴⁴ and stored in earthen vessels⁴⁵ and flour obtained by grinding corn in mill stones,⁴⁶ were stocked in houses.⁴⁷ This shows that the difference between Arya and Dasyu was neither racial nor cultural but only one of cult.

¹ தனுக்கிணமராய். ² வெல்லம். ³ அக்கரம். ⁴ அயிர். ⁵ கருப்பு. ⁶ சைந். ⁷ சன்னல். ⁸ சைந். ⁹ செறல். ¹⁰ செஞ்சரட். ¹¹ குழம்பு. ¹² ஆணம். ¹³ ஏ. ¹⁴ பெர். ¹⁵ பெரகு. ¹⁶ மூர்க். ¹⁷ செர. ¹⁸ அரும்பு. ¹⁹ அன. ²⁰ மச்சினக. ²¹ மூரி. ²² வெண்ணைய். ²³ வெங்கட்டி. ²⁴ கீபு.

²⁵ R. V. x. 49, 10.

²⁶ R. V. viii. 4, 8.

²⁷ R. V. x. 106, 9.

²⁸ R. V. iv. 58.

²⁹ Sarpis, A. V. ix. 6, 41.

³⁰ R. V. vi. 57, 2.

³¹ A. V. vi. 140, 4.

³² Dhānā, R. V. iii. 35, 3.

³³ Apūpam, R. V. iii. 52, 7; Purodāsam, A. V. xii. 4, 35.

³⁵ R. V. viii. 66, 10.

³⁶ A. V. iv. 7, 2.

³⁴ Odanam, A. V. iii. 34, 35.

³⁸ R. V. x. 79, 3.

³⁹ R. V. i. 90, 8.

³⁷ Mantha, A. V. x. 6, 2.

⁴¹ R. V. iv. 45, 3, 4.

⁴² R. V. vi. 49, 18.

⁴⁰ A. V. viii. 10, 27.

⁴⁴ A. V. xii. 3, 13.

⁴³ R. V. i. 117, 6.

⁴⁶ Drishat, A. V. ii. 31, 1.

⁴⁵ A. V. vi. 142, 1.

⁴⁷ P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, *Life in Ancient India*, p. 49.

One result of the extensive use of vegetables in food was that there are distinct words for the different stages of the edible parts of plants e.g., *pīnju*,¹ *elu*,² *vadu*,³ the very tender fruit, *kāy*,⁴ *tīyalī*,⁵ *palan*,⁶ (which last word, I think, is pure Tamil, having nothing to do with Sanskrit *phalam*), the grown fruit, *kani*,⁷ *palam*,⁸ the fully ripened fruit, *sulai*,⁹ pulp or edible part of a fruit, *tandu*,¹⁰ tender stem, also petal, *talir*,¹¹ tender leaf, *ilai*,¹² mature leaf; but the word for *kiļangū*,¹³ an esculent root, a tuber, has only synonyms borrowed from Sanskrit, e.g., *kandam*, *mūlam*; it has another synonym, *śakunam*, whose origin I cannot suggest; perhaps *vēr*,¹⁴ root, and its Tamil synonyms *sadai*,¹⁵ *sivai*,¹⁶ and *tūr*¹⁷ may also refer to tubers.

The ancient Tamils drank hard; liquor has more 'pure' Tamil names than any other article. Here are some of them; *ammiyam*,¹⁸ *ari*,¹⁹ *arugi*,²⁰ *aruppam*,²¹ *ali*,²² *arivali*,²³ *āmbal*,²⁴ *āli*,²⁵ *ālai*,²⁶ *īlam*,²⁷ *eli*,²⁸ *kalliyam*,²⁹ *kavvai*,³⁰ *kaļi*,³¹ *kāli*,³² *kudu*,³³ *kundi*,³⁴ *kōngu*,³⁵ *sādi*,³⁶ *sāli*,³⁷ *śāru*,³⁸ *sikkar*,³⁹ *śundi*,⁴⁰ *śurai*,⁴¹ *śūligai*,⁴² *śeru*,⁴³ *śol*,⁴⁴ *śolviļambi*,⁴⁵ *ñāli*,⁴⁶ *taniyal*,⁴⁷ *tumbi*,⁴⁸ *tem*,⁴⁹ *teral*,⁵⁰ *tēn*,⁵¹ *tondi*,⁵² *tōppi*,⁵³ (special name of rice-liquor), *naravu*,⁵⁴ *nanai*,⁵⁵ *nārram*,⁵⁶ *padu*,⁵⁷ *pāli*,⁵⁸ *pili*,⁵⁹ *pēdai*,⁶⁰ *maṭtu*,⁶¹ *madurai*,⁶² *maruttam*,⁶³ *marali*,⁶⁴ *māri*,⁶⁵ *māli*,⁶⁶ *muruğu*,⁶⁷ *mēdai*,⁶⁸ *vadi*,⁶⁹ *viśuli*,⁷⁰ *veri*,⁷¹ *vēri*,⁷² *kal*,⁷³ the vendors of liquor were called *śavuṇdiyar*,⁷⁴ *tuvaśar*,⁷⁵ *pađuvar*,⁷⁶ *palaiyar*,⁷⁷ *piliyar*.⁷⁸

The following describes the food of the mountain-dwelling *Kuravar* and their hospitality.

'They mix the fat meat of the wild boar and venison cut from deer, killed when they were running, the flesh wounded by the bite of bitches; they fill themselves with the liquor brewed from honey and matured in bamboo cylinders and also with rice-liquor and they are full of glee. To bring down the intoxication due to drinking in the mornings, they mix pounded white nuts of the Jack fruit which have come down floating on rivers, have become over-ripe and burst out, with butter-milk to which has been added the sweet-sour tamarind fruit whose rind is white, and in this juice cook white rice matured in bamboo tubes, so that the smell of the boiling rice spreads all along the hill-side; you can get this food from the hands of the *Kurava* girls, who have black hair-knots smelling of flowers. They will offer you this food with great joy for having got a guest to feed; they will then introduce their children to you and will offer you besides the

1 பிஞ்சு.	2 எலு.	3 வாரி.	4 காபி.	5 தீயனி.	6 பலன்.
7 சணி.	8 பழம்.	9 சூரை.	10 தங்க.	11 தங்கிரி.	12 இலை.
13 கிழங்கு.	14 வெளி.	15 சுடை.	16 சினவு.	17 நுரி.	18 அந்மியம்.
19 அரி.	20 அருகி.	21 அருப்பம்.	22 அவி.	23 அறவழி.	24 ஆம்பன்.
25 ஆவி.	26 ஆலை.	27 ஆறம்.	28 ஏலி.	29 கல்லியம்.	30 கங்கவு.
31 தாவி.	32 தாவி.	33 குடு.	34 குத்தி.	35 கொங்கு.	36 சாதி.
37 சூபி.	38 சூறா.	39 சிக்கர்.	40 சங்கடி.	41 சுடை.	42 குறிஷக.
43 சேந்த.	44 சேந்த.	45 சோங்விளம்பி	46 குளினி.	47 தணியல்.	48 தம்பி.
49 சேந்தம்.	50 சேந்தம்.	51 சேந்தன்.	52 செந்தந்தி.	53 செந்தப்பி.	54 செந்த.
55 சௌன.	56 சூ-றநம்.	57 சுடு.	58 பாலி.	59 பிழி.	60 செபதை.
61 மட்டு.	62 மத்தை.	63 மருட்டடம்.	64 மதல்.	65 மாரி.	66 மாலி.
67 முருகு.	68 மயைத்.	69 சுடு.	70 மிசுவி.	71 மெற்ற.	72 செரி.
73 சுசு.	74 முன்னடியர்.	75 தாஷ்ட.	76 பாஉரத.	77 பகழுப்பு.	78 பிதியர்.

products of the tops of hills (such as sandal, *agil*, gold, gems, etc.)'.¹ Of the hunters it is said :

'They drink the sweet rice-liquor, *tōppi*, brewed in their houses ; they cut in the open field the strong bull and eat its meat. The drum faced with folded hides sounds and they lift the left arm, strong with the constant bending of the bow, place it around the right side and dance all day with glee.'

The food of the *Ayar* is thus described :—

'Early in the morning when the thick darkness begins to disappear and birds rise from their sleep, *Idaiyar* women ply with the rope the churning-rod, *mattu*,³ with a noise like the grunt of a tiger ; they churn the milk with folded crust, having been curdled by the curds reserved for the purpose, *urai*,⁴ which looks like the white mushroom, and remove the butter ; they place a pad of flowers, *summādu*⁵, on their heads and stand thereon a pot of buttermilk, whose mouth is sprinkled with drops of curds and sell it in the mornings. They are dark of skin ; at their ears dangle earrings ; their shoulders are like the bamboo ; their hair is short and wavy. They feast their relatives with rice bartered for buttermilk. Then they sell ghi and buy gold and milch buffaloes and cows and calves. If you stay with the *Idaiyar* with hanging lips, they will feast you with *tinai*,⁶ which looks like the young of crabs, boiled with milk. Their strong feet are scarred with constant wearings of sandals ; their hands lean on sticks with which they cruelly beat the cattle ; and are horny with handling the axes which fell trees ; their shoulders, scarred and hairy by carrying *Kāvadis*⁷ with double hanging loops ; their hair, smelling because they wipe the head with hands full of milk-drops. They wear garlands of mixed flowers, *Kalambagam*,⁸ plucked from trees and plants growing in the forests ;

1 ஏற்ற தகுட மிலங்குமலைத் தராமெடு
2 வேற்ப்பெயல் விண்ணப்பட் டெக்கட் டேரல்
3 குறைவன்றி பருதி நாயமகிழ்ச்சு வைக்கைப்
பழுஞ்செருகு குற்றாறம் மனக்கத நீ
4 வருவி நக்க பழுஞ்சினத வெண்டாற்
5 வருவிகை தல்வந்த கடமான கெழுஞ்குறை
6 முனவாற் தொலைச்சிய பைக்கினப் பிரைவ
7 பின்னாறம் முடுக்கிய தடிபொடு விரைவு
8 வெண்டுபுடைக் கொண்ட துப்தலைப் பழனி
9 விள்ளுப்பிக் கலங்கு மாலோ ராக
10 கழைவார் கெள்வி எரியிலை மூந்தத
11 வழையமை சாரல் கமுத் துழுமிலி
12 சந்மல டணிக்கத ஏற்ற முத்திக்
13 குறமக ஏர்க்கிய வாலவிழ் வல்லி
14 பகமலி புவகை பர்வமோ ட்ஜை
15 மகஞ்சை தடப்ப மனைதொறும் பெற்றுவிர.

Malaiapadukadām, 170–185.

2 இல்லாடு கண்ணின் சேரப்பி பருதி
3 மல்லன் மன்றத்து மதலிதை கெண்டி
4 மடிவரம்த் தன்னுமை கடுவைட் சிலைப்பச்
5 சிலைவி வெறும்த்தோ சேர்க்கி வலன்வளையுப்
6 பகன் மகிழ் துங்கும்.

Perumbānār̄yūppadai, 142–146.

they wear a single cloth which fits closely with the body, and eat porridge.¹

The food of *marudam* is thus described :—

'The *sułai*² (pulp) of the Jack-fruit, sweet and fragrant, the fruits of the mango of many forms, and beautiful *kay*³ (unripe fruit) of numerous shapes, (like the plantain, the *pāgal*⁴, and the brinjal), other fruits, (like the plantain and the cashew), leaf-curries of leaves, curled, thin, beautiful, growing on creepers which grow abundantly in the rainy season, crystals of sugar made from boiled sugar, and meat cooked together with big tubers which grow down and rice boiled in milk, sweet to eat, were served.'⁵

Fire for cooking and other purposes was made by churning wood.

The forester made fire by churning one piece of wood on another, as he does even to-day in forests remote from places where matches are sold. This is referred to in 'the fire which he churned,'⁶ 'the lamp lighted from a fire, churned by hunters with dry wood brought by elephants.'⁷ In the plains, they kept up a perpetual fire in fire-pots,

¹ கன்றிருள் விடபத் துள்ளெழப் போதிப்
புலிக்குருள் மத்த மொலிப்ப வாங்கி
ஏற்பு ஏற்குமிகு நஞ்ச கும்புமுகை
புறபூமை தீச்செயிக் கவக்கி நாரைதெரிக்கு
புரவாய்க் குழிகி புஞ்சுமட்ட டீநீ
காண்சேர் மாற நன்மா மேனிச்
சிறங்குமை தயல்வரும் காதிற் பணைத்தோட்
அறைநீக் கொண்ட காந்தலாய்மக
எனைவிலை புணவிற் சினைபுட ஏருத்தி
தெய்விலைக் கட்டிப் பசும்பெருள் கொண்டை
கெருகுமை எல்லான் கருநாகு பெறுவ
மடிவாய்க் கோவலர் குடிவெற் சேப்பி
விருங்கின் கெஞ்சியின் சிறபாரப் பண்ண
பசுக்கிழை மூரல் பாலெரும் பெறுவூர்
தெருத்தேரும் மீதிய வடெவாற் கேரளாட
விழுத்தால் கேற்றிய மழுத்தின் வன்கை
புற்கை ஆர்க்க மாறப்படு மயிர்ச்சுவன்
மேற்பார லுரைத்த வோரி போங்குமிகைக
கேட்டடாய் கொடிபவும் விரைவிக் காட்ட
பல்பு மிகட்டாத படலைக் கண்ணி
யெற்றம் குடுக்கைக் கூற ரிடையன்

Perumbāñārṛupphadai, 155-175.

² சை. ³ காய். ⁴ புராஸ்.

பலவுடன்

⁵ சேர ஏற்றமும் பலவின் கணியும்
வேறுபடக கவினிப் பேமாங் கனியும்
பல்லே நாருவிற் காயும் பழஞும்
கொண்டல் வனர்ப்பக் கொடிவிடுபு கவினி
மென்பினி வலிந்தை குதமுற் பட்டு
மயிர்திவன் நன்ன திண்டேற்றுக் கடிகையும்
புறப்படப் பண்ணிப் பேரூன் சேராம்
கீழ்ச்செல வீழ்த் திழுங்கெரடு பிரை
வின் சேரத் தருகர்

Maduraikkāñji, 526-535.

⁶ தாந் கெலுவி தி.

Pūram, 150.

⁷ பாண தத்த முளிமா விருதிற்
ஏனாவச் பெற்றிப் பெல்லி விளக்கு.

Ibid., 247.

kumpatti,¹ into which was poked a *sulundu*,² stalk sometimes tipped with sulphur.

Salt was manufactured on a large scale. Salt-fields have several names: *uppalam*,³ *alakkār*,⁴ *uvarkkalam*,⁵ *uvālagam*,⁶ *kaḷi*.⁷ These names prove that salt-manufacture was an extensive industry, a fact which we could have inferred otherwise also, because the large use of vegetable food and especially of curries of innumerable kinds and of the many varieties of pickles to tempt the palate and satisfy its craving and to render rice and pulses tasty, requires the free use of salt.

The food of Northern and Southern India has remained unchanged for five thousand years and more. But the necessities of modern commerce have begun to alter it in many respects. Old ways of preparing foodstuffs and cooking them are giving way to new ones; the old methods of boiling and pounding paddy with the hand preserved the proteids and vitamins necessary for health and strength; but the new methods of hulling by machinery and polishing unboiled paddy are giving rise to the widespread diseases of civilization—tuberculosis and diabetes and to general enfeeblement. The old custom of eating leaf-curry and fruits cooked with their skins is giving way to modern refinements in cookery, and tinned provisions are taking the place of freshly made ones, so that the health of the people is steadily degenerating. The old forms of food were the result of thousands of years of experience, whereas the new ones, supposed to raise the standard of living, are really refined methods of committing slow suicide.

AGRICULTURE

Says Prof. G. Elliot Smith, 'I suppose most people would be prepared to admit that the invention of agriculture was the beginning of civilization. It involved a really settled society and the assurance of a food supply. Hence it created the two conditions without which there could have been no real development of arts and crafts and the customs of an organized form of society.'⁸ Prof. Smith is of opinion that agriculture was developed in Egypt with the sowing of barley about ten thousand years ago and thence spread to other parts of the world. At about the same or perhaps a few millenniums earlier, as stone tools testify, the cultivation of paddy and the weaving of cotton began in the plains of South India. Hence the rise of Indian agriculture was not consequent on its development in Egypt.

Agriculture was the main industry of Ancient India, as it is to-day. It was carried on chiefly in the lower reaches of rivers where irrigation by means of canals is possible. Thus in the Śoḷa country, Śonādu,⁹ the fertile delta of the Kāviri, even to-day the granary of South India and the island of Ceylon, was the main scene of agricultural operations. In the Pāṇḍya nādu, in the valleys of the Vaigai and the Tāmraparṇi wet cultivation was carried on. In the Śēra nādu which looked up to the sky for irrigation, the strip of coast west of the ghats where the rain it raineth every day during the monsoons, was devoted to this early industry of Indian man. In

¹கும்பட்டி. ²சுலந்த. ³உப்பம். ⁴அலக்கார். ⁵உவர்க்கலம். ⁶உவாலகம். ⁷காளி.

*Nature, Jan. 15, 1927, p. 8.

other parts of the country there were small patches of Marudam, where rain-water straight from the sky, carried away by hill torrents, was stored and utilized for the raising of grains or vegetables. Where water supply was not on a generous scale, were raised grains and other crops which did not require a constantly wetted field to grow in. Hence cultivated land was divided into *nansey*,¹ rice-growing field and *punsey*,² where other grains grow. Uncultivated land was *tariṣu*.³ *Sey*,⁴ the common element of *nansey*, and *punsey*, means a field as well as a particular area of land. It also means red and perhaps the word acquired the meaning of a field in the districts covered with red ferruginous clay. *Nansey*, therefore, originally meant a good field and *punsey*, a bad field. Cultivated land was partitioned into fields. The field had numerous names : *vayal*,⁵ *sey*, *agani*,⁶ *kambalai*,⁷ *kalani*,⁸ *kaidai*,⁹ *kottam*,¹⁰ *seru*,¹¹ *tadi*,¹² *panai*,¹³ *pannai*,¹⁴ *palanam*,¹⁵ *pānal*,¹⁶ *pulam* ;¹⁷ a small field was *kundil*,¹⁸ *patti*.¹⁹ The large number of synonyms for *vayal*, was due to the fact that agriculture was the chief occupation of the people. Agriculture itself was called *velānmai*,²⁰ the *ānmai*,²¹ lordship, of *vel*,²² land, *Velalar*,²³ (a word different in origin from *vellalar*)²⁴ were landowners, cultivators, *velatti*,²⁵ being the feminine gender of the same. Owners of extensive tracts of land were called *vel*, *velir* ; there were *kurunilamanar*, petty chiefs. After the Ārya social organization was imposed on Tamil India, *Velalar* were given the name of *pūvaiśyar*, but the name has not stuck to them, for though they were technically Vaiśyas, the privileges of Vaiśyas were not really extended to them. *Velānmai* was considered the noblest of occupations ; because the possession of grains conduces to the development of generosity. For, whereas other forms of wealth, especially minted metal, can be hoarded jealousy and will, if put out to interest, grow infinitely more and more, wealth in the form of food-grains will deteriorate if hoarded ; it will either be destroyed by vermin or will rot ; so the man who has a rich store will be naturally prompted to give it away to the poor and the starving. Hence India, the land of extensive agriculture, has become the land of unstinted charity ; hence *velānmai* has become in Tamil synonymous with *īgai*,²⁶ (lit, gift), also *kodai*.²⁷ The *Velalar* were, by right of their instincts of charity, the nobles of the land and hence the characteristics of *velalar*, *velānmai māndar iyalbu*,²⁸ have been described as ten ; viz, (1) *āṇavali nirral*,²⁹ keeping an oath, (2) *alindorai niruttal*,³⁰ raising up the fallen, (3) *kaikkadanārral*,³¹ being obliging, (4) *kaśivagattunmai*,³² having compassion, (5) *okkalporral*,³³ supporting relatives, (6) *svāmuyarchi*,³⁴ perseverance, (7) *manniraikarudal*,³⁵ paying taxes, (8) *Orrumaikodal*,³⁶ being peaceable, (9) *virundu*,³⁷ *pūrāndarudal*, hospitality, (10) *tirundiyyavoluukkam*,³⁸ correct conduct. Of this list of virtues belonging to the Tamil farmer, *svāmuyarchi*, ceaseless toil, is the necessary result of rice-cultivation ; for more than other food-grains rice requires unceasing work

¹ சூர்யம். ² புஞ்சைய். ³ தரிசு. ⁴ சை. ⁵ வயல். ⁶ அகணி. ⁷ கம்பலை. ⁸ கழனி. ⁹ கைகளத்.
¹⁰ செட்டம். ¹¹ ரெட்டு. ¹² தடி. ¹³ புணை. ¹⁴ பாஷ்னை. ¹⁵ புதுணை. ¹⁶ பாநை. ¹⁷ புலம்.
¹⁸ குஞ்சல். ¹⁹ புத்தி. ²⁰ வெள்ளையை. ²¹ ஆற்றமை. ²² வெள். ²³ வெள்ளை. ²⁴ வெள்ளையை.
²⁵ வெள்ளடி. ²⁶ வெக. ²⁷ வெட்டை. ²⁸ வெள்ளையை மாந்தர் இயல்பு. ²⁹ ஆற்றை எழி நிற்றல்.
³⁰ அறிக்கொலை நிற்தல். ³¹ கைக்கடாந்தரல். ³² கடிவகந்துநையை. ³³ ஒக்கல் சேர்த்தல்.
³⁴ ஓவரமுயற்சி. ³⁵ மன்னிதைச்சுரதல். ³⁶ செழியைசெட்டல். ³⁷ விரச்சு புதுதரதல்.
³⁸ திருப்பிபொறுத்தை.

for several months in the year, patient endurance of the rheumatic pains, chills and other ills due to standing upto the knees in water and trudging on wet sticky clay ; this has made the Indian farmer a model of unfailing patience and enduring perseverance, and contributed to the development of what is miscalled fatalistic acceptance of misfortune. When the harvest was over and his granaries filled, he either gave himself up to the festivities of the post-harvest season, eating and drinking, singing and dancing, decorating his person with flowers and love-making developed as a fine art, or to martial exercises. In every village there was a field, *kalam*,¹ set apart for these purposes.² Another virtue of the farmer was his readiness to pay the king's taxes. All the world over, people are unwilling to pay taxes and many regard it almost as a virtue to evade payment of taxes. How is it then that the ancient Tamil landowner was differently constituted to modern men? The reason of this was the fact that taxes were payable in kind. A man with a well-filled granary easily parts with a portion of his abundance, all the more so because wealth in grains does not increase, but decreases with keeping ; but it is hard to part with specie, as it will keep all right for any length of time, and, if properly invested, barren metal will breed as fast as cattle and sheep, as Shylock well knew. Paying taxes in gold and silver is more difficult, especially if the purse is as ill-filled as generally the Indian farmer's purse is and if one has to borrow for paying taxes.

All the other virtues of the *Vellālar* are but different forms of charity. It has already been explained how one who has a large store of cereals is easily induced to enjoy the pleasure of seeing his fellow-men feed on his substance. Numerous poetical names signifying *vēlālar* exist. They are *māyīmagal pūdalvar*,³ sons of the earth-goddess, *valamaiyar*,⁴ the flourishing, *kālamar*,⁵ owners of fields, *mallar*,⁶ the strong, *kāvirippūdalvar*,⁷ sons of the Kāviri, *ulavar*,⁸ tillers, *mēliyar*,⁹ ploughmen, *erinvālñar*,¹⁰ those that live by the plough, *ilango*,¹¹ prince, *pinnavar*,¹² perhaps those that are behind *manna-var*,¹³ *perukkalar*,¹⁴ those that increase wealth, or those that utilize the food, *vinaiñar*,¹⁵ toilers.

There was a wealth of vocabulary attached to each detail of agricultural operations. Ploughing was *ulavu*,¹⁶ *toyyil*,¹⁷ hoeing, *kottudal*,¹⁸ trampling, *ulakkudal*,¹⁹ *midittal*,²⁰ *madidal*,²¹ manure,

¹கலம்.

²உடனர் குழிபு விழவி அலு
உடனர் தழிபு தண்டக மாறும்
உடன்டக ஏசேன் மாண்டக சேநை
உடுபுரை ஏதென மக்கே பெண்டக
சேநை ஸிலங்கு ஷன செகிய்தந
புடுங்கு குரிசிதுபூரை ஏதென

Kurundogai, 31.

I have searched for him in the places where heroes congregate (for martial exercises) ; and where women gather for the *tunangai* but have not seen the magnificent hero ; hence I am but a woman of the theatre *ādukaṭam* (ஆடுகாடம்) ; the great hero too who has caused my bright bent bangles cut from conch shell to slip, is also a man of the theatre.

³ஊழுமகள்புதல்வர். ⁴ஊழுமயர். ⁵கலம். ⁶மாலை. ⁷ஏரவிஸப்புதல்வர். ⁸உபவர். ⁹கோழிபு.
¹⁰ஏலைநாயர். ¹¹இலங்கே. ¹²பிள்ளை. ¹³ஊன்றை. ¹⁴ஒப்ரக்கரர். ¹⁵வினாகு. ¹⁶உழு.
¹⁷உபுபுவில். ¹⁸உரத்ததல். ¹⁹உழக்குதல். ²⁰மதிததல். ²¹மதிதல்.

eru,¹ *uram*,² *kuppai*,³ *kūlam*,⁴ and so on. Different names were given for the fields other than that used for wet cultivation. A garden was *tōttam*,⁵ *tudavai*,⁶ *padappai*,⁷ *tōppu*,⁸ *sōlai*,⁹ *tāndalai*,¹⁰ (flower-garden), *kollai*,¹¹ (generally a kitchen-garden behind a house). High land was *tagar*,¹² *tarāy*,¹³ *mēdu*,¹⁴ *ōngal*,¹⁵ *karu*,¹⁶ *kuppai*,¹⁷ *kuval*,¹⁸ *kuvai*,¹⁹ *śuval*,²⁰ *tidar*,²¹ *tittu*,²² *tittai*,²³ *padar*,²⁴ *misai*,²⁵ *vallai*,²⁶ *vanbāl*,²⁷ *murambu*:²⁸ this was so variously named, probably because it gave much trouble to the cultivator who had to level it before tilling it. The low land was also variously named, *pallam*,²⁹ *aval*,³⁰ *ilivu*,³¹ *kīlakku*,³² *kīl*,³³ *kuli*,³⁴ *kūval*,³⁵ *nellal*,³⁶ *tālvu*,³⁷ *padugar*,³⁸ *payambu*.³⁹

The chief implement of the farmer was the plough; so he lovingly gave it numerous names, *kalappai*,⁴⁰ *idai*,⁴¹ *ulupadai*,⁴² *kalanai*,⁴³ *ñāñjil*,⁴⁴ *toduppu*,⁴⁵ *padai*,⁴⁶ *padaiyal*.⁴⁷ The ploughshare was made of wood in the stone age and of steel in the iron age; both kinds are in use even to-day. The other important implement was the knife; it, too, had numerous names, *vāl*,⁴⁸ *uvani*,⁴⁹ *edi*,⁵⁰ *kađuttalai*,⁵¹ *tuvatti*,⁵² *naviram*,⁵³ *nātlam*,⁵⁴ *vañjam*,⁵⁵ *kuyal*,⁵⁶ *kuļir*;⁵⁷ short knives were called *kuřumbidi*,⁵⁸ *śurigai*,⁵⁹ one that could be bent into the handle, *sūri*.⁶⁰

An extensive system of irrigation was practised; rivers were furnished with a complete dam, *anai*,⁶¹ or a partial dam, *korambu*,⁶² and the water diverted into a *kāl*,⁶³ *kālvāy*,⁶⁴ or *vāykkāl*.⁶⁵ Or water was raised from ponds or wells by means of an *ērram*⁶⁶ or *kabilai*⁶⁷ or *iraikūdai*.⁶⁸ The latter was the most common means of raising water and had numerous names, *ambi*,⁶⁹ *idār*,⁷⁰ *iraivai*,⁷¹ *kārāmbi*,⁷² *kīlār*,⁷³ *pīlār*,⁷⁴ *pūttil*,⁷⁵ *pūttaī*,⁷⁶ *pattai*,⁷⁷ and conducted by means of a sluice, *madai*,⁷⁸ to higher levels and distributed to fields.

Here is a description of ploughing.—'The plough men, who raise food for many people, yoke trained oxen to the plough, whose front looks like the mouth of a female elephant, press it on the ground so that the ploughshare which looks like the face of the iguana, is buried in the earth. They plough round and round, then sow seeds and then weed the field. When the harvest season is near, the quail with short feet and black neck with its young, white and smelling like the

1. ஏரு.	2. மாறு.	3. குப்பை.	4. கூநம்.	5. செற்றடம்.	6. தடையை.
7. பட்டப்பை.	8. செற்பு.	9. செலை.	10. தந்தை.	11. கெள்ளை.	12. தாடி.
13. தெருப்.	14. மேடு.	15. இங்கல்.	16. சுரு.	17. குப்பை.	18. கவரல்.
19. குவை.	20. வால்.	21. திடச்.	22. திட்டு.	23. திட்டை.	24. படர்
25. மீசை.	26. எல்லை.	27. வங்பால்.	28. முந்து.	29. பன்னம்.	30. அவல்.
31. இழை.	32. கிழக்கு.	In the Kāviri valley which slopes from West to East <i>kīl</i> and <i>kīlakku</i> , lit. lowland and <i>mēl</i> , <i>merku</i> , highland came to mean East and West respectively.	33. சூழ.	34. குறி.	35. குவல்.
37. தாந்து.	38. படகர்.	39. பயஷு.	40. கலப்பை.	41. இகைத.	36. குள்ளங்கு.
43. கல்லை.	44. தூருக்கிள்.	45. தெருப்பு.	46. படை.	47. பகைவாள்.	42. உறுப்பை.
49. உவணி.	50. ஏதி.	51. குடுத்தை.	52. துவட்டி.	53. சலிசம்.	48. வரன்.
55. வஞ்சம்.	56. குயல்.	57. குளிர்.	58. குறம்பிடி.	59. கரிசை.	54. தாட்டம்
61. அணை.	62. கொரம்பு.	63. கால்.	64. கால்வாய்.	65. வர்ப்பக்கால்	60. குரி.
67. பிலை.	68. இழைக்கை.	69. அய்பி.	70. இடர்.	71. இழையை.	66. ஏற்றம்.
73. கிழரி.	74. பிரர்.	75. புட்டல்.	76. புட்டை.	77. பட்டை.	72. ஏற்றப்பி.

Kadamba flower—*Eugenia racemosa*,—and unable to fly about, afraid of the noise of the harvesters, settles in the forest near.'¹

Agriculture in South India was carried on exactly as it was in Āryāvartta. 'They ploughed the ground,'² the plough being drawn by two oxen³ fastened to the yoke with hempen or leather traces, and driven with a goad.⁴ The ploughshare was made of iron⁵ which supplanted the older ploughshare⁶ made of Khadira wood. The ploughmen sang merrily to the steers while ploughing.⁷ They bedewed the furrow with ghee and honey⁸ before sowing. The fields were watered by means of irrigation canals from wells⁹ or lakes, or by raising water from wells by means of wooden or metal buckets¹⁰ tied to a rope, pulled round a stone pulley. They kept away birds from robbing them of the growing corn¹¹ by uttering loud cries.¹²

LOVE IN MARUDAM

The leisure enjoyed by agriculturists after the harvest was over led to the development of festivals among them, in which there was much singing, dancing and play-acting in order to pass idle moments. This again led to the growth of the institutions of harlotry, song-stresses and actresses; *viralari*¹³ and *kūttiar*¹⁴ were experts in the refinements of love. Numerous poems of the class Marudam deal with this subject. 'The festival is over. The drums are silent. Do you want to know what she thought then? I will tell you her thoughts. This young woman wore a leaf-garment; with that garment dangling on her lap, she walked along the streets. Then arose in the streets a great sound of laughter, as loud as when the followers of the great bowman Ōri, the victorious warrior-lord of Kolli, who was killed by Malaiyamān Tirumudikāri, saw Kāri enter the incomparably long streets of Ōri. On hearing that sound of laughter, the fair ladies who wore bangles and the skins of whose bodies was like the tender leaf of the mango, feared that she would capture the hearts of their

குடிசை வல்லிர் செஞ்சா தழவர்
கூடைவில் பெரும்பகு குதலிற் பூட்டுத்
பிடவர் மன்ன மதவரு சங்கி
துடுப்பு குறை அக்கெருமே அம்பூழைத்
தொடுப்பெற்ற தழுத தன்ஸுட துடை
பரிபுகு பெரும்பி விரிசல் சூரி
ஏந்தைக் கடம்பி ஏற்றவ ஏந்தை
ஏந்தை பிள்ளை தழிடிக் குறங்கரை
கூறுபணற் குறம்பும் கட்டி சேஞ்சும்
வங்குவத.

Perumbāñārāppadai, 197-206.

¹ R. V. x. 101, 3 ; x. 106, 2.

⁴ A. V. iii. 25, 5 ; iv. 57, 4.

² R. V. iii. 17, 3 ; x. 101, 3.

⁵ A. V. v. 6, 6.

³ A. V. iii. 17, 3.

⁶ A. V. iii. 17, 9.

⁷ A. V. viii. 20, 9.

⁷ A. V. i. 3, 7 ; iii. 13, 9 ; R. V. iii. 45, 3 ; vii. 49, 2, 4 ; x. 43, 7.

⁸ R. V. x. 101, 5, 7.

¹¹ R. V. x. 68, 1.

⁹ P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, *Life in Ancient India*, p. 23.

¹⁴ ஏற்றுத்.

¹⁰ அபோத.

¹⁵ ஏற்றுத்.

husbands and guarded them from her wiles. I have failed in these attempts, and she has seduced my lover away from me.¹

More innocent incidents of love also belong to *Marudam*; such as the wailing of a wife when her husband has gone away to a far place after quarrelling with her. ‘The sparrows whose wings are like the faded water-lily with petals shrunk and folded, and which reside in the roofs of houses, eat the paddy and the other grains spread for drying in the front yard of houses; they make holes in the slender filaments of flowers in the highway. They return to their beds in the roof where they sleep with their young ones. Do not the sad evening and the pains of separation exist where he has gone.’²

PASTURAGE

As agriculture was the chief industry of *Marudam*, pasturage was the chief industry of *Mullai*. The sheep, the goat, the cow, the ox, the buffalo were the chief domestic animals tended by the *Ayar*, herdsmen. Profusion of names for each of these as usual indicates the love the herdsmen felt for their wards. Thus the sheep was called *ādu*,³ *udu*,⁴ *oruvu*,⁵ *turuvai*,⁶ *tullal*,⁷ *puruvai*,⁸ *veri*,⁹ the red variety *semmaryi*,¹⁰ *mottai*,¹¹ *udal*,¹² *ēlagam*,¹³ *pallai*,¹⁴ *kadā*,¹⁵ *mai*,¹⁶ *kōri*,¹⁷ *tagar*,¹⁸ *melagam*.¹⁹ The goat was called *vellādu*,²⁰ *karādu*,²¹ *kochchai*,²² *vellai*,²³ *varkali*,²⁴ *kurumbādu*,²⁵ from the wool of which *Kurumbar* wove *kamblies*, was also called *varudai*,²⁶ *varaiyādu*.²⁷ The cow had naturally the largest variety of names, *a*,²⁸ *paśu*,²⁹ *kuram*,³⁰ *kural*,³¹ *kūlam*,³² *kovalam*,³³ *surai*,³⁴ a useless cow was *sudai*,³⁵ a barren cow, *varchai*,³⁶ that which has yeaned once *kitti*,³⁷ *kirutti*.³⁸ The ox was *erudu*,³⁹ *irāl*,⁴⁰ *iru*,⁴¹ *kundai*,⁴² *kūli*,⁴³ *kottiyanam*,⁴⁴ *še*,⁴⁵ *ko*,⁴⁶ *nūpam*,⁴⁷ *pagađu*,⁴⁸ *pāndil*,⁴⁹ *pāral*,⁵⁰ *pullam*,⁵¹

¹ விழு முழுக்கள் முழுக்குங்கள்
தெவன் குறித்தனன் தொலென்ற முவித்
மூற பணிக்கலமரும் மல்குத் தேருவி
வினையோ விரத வினாதற்குப் பழவித்
வேற்கீ தென்ற வார்க்குபெருக் கெருவித்
ஏறி புத சேர்த் தூங்கும்பேர்
கல்லெங்கங்கு டாகே அதற்கென்று
கால் தெறிஸ மாட்டி மாப்புதொடி
பயறின்முசு மேனி மகநி
விழுமாக தன்றத்தெருமுதைக் காத்தோ.

Nayinai, 320.

² ஆம்பற் புலிஸ் ஈம்ப லன்ன
கும்பிய சிரை் மைன்புறம் குரி இ
முற்றி வுண்டகன் மாத்தி மாற்ற
கெருவி இஷ்டாத குடைவன் ஏடு
பிள்ளாற் பன்னித்தம் பன்னிபெடு எத்தும்
புக்கன் மாலையும் புலம்பு
மின்றெர கோத்துவர் செந்ற ஏட்டுட்.

Kuzundagai, 46.

³ ஆடு. ⁴ உடு. ⁵ ஒருவு. ⁶ துருவை. ⁷ தாங்கள். ⁸ புருவை. ⁹ வெறி. ¹⁰ செம்மறி. ¹¹ சூரத்தை. ¹² ஆத்தி. ¹³ சூழல். ¹⁴ பஞ்சி. ¹⁵ கடர். ¹⁶ கம. ¹⁷ கெறி. ¹⁸ தூர். ¹⁹ சூழல். ²⁰ சென்றா. ²¹ செரிடி. ²² செரெக்கை. ²³ வெங்கி. ²⁴ வார்க்கு. ²⁵ தோம்பு. ²⁶ வருதை. ²⁷ வத்துரி. ²⁸ ஆ. ²⁹ பசு. ³⁰ குரம். ³¹ குருவு. ³² கலம். ³³ சேருவல். ³⁴ சார். ³⁵ சதை. ³⁶ வற்சை. ³⁷ இட்டு. ³⁸ கிரட்டி. ³⁹ ஏருத. ⁴⁰ இருல். ⁴¹ ஏ. ⁴² குங்கட. ⁴³ கனி. ⁴⁴ கெட்டுப்பும். ⁴⁵ சே. ⁴⁶ சீர். In view of the fact that *kōn* was a pure Tamil word for a cowherd, I regard *kō* as independent of Sanskrit *go* the resemblance between the words being absolutely accidental. ⁴⁷ துபா. ⁴⁸ பகு. ⁴⁹ பாந்தில். ⁵⁰ முருல் ⁵¹ புலம்.

pāni,¹ *pēyram*,² *pōttu*,³ *mūri*,⁴ *vidai*.⁵ Of these names *kāli*⁶ means breeding bull; those which were used by traders for bearing burden, (*podi*)⁷ were called *tūriyam*,⁸ *pāgadu*,⁹ and *pāyal*.¹⁰ The buffalo was called *kavari*,¹¹ *kāra*,¹² *kāram*,¹³ *mūri*,¹⁴ *mēdi*;¹⁵ *vadavai*,¹⁶ barren ones, *maimai*;¹⁷ the bull calf of the buffalo, *kūlavi*,¹⁸ *kānyu*.¹⁹ Its cow-calf *a*,²⁰ *nāgu*;²¹ the bull-buffalo, *umbal*,²² *ēru*,²³ *oruttal*,²⁴ *pāgadu*,²⁵ *pōttu*.²⁶ The udder of the cow and of the buffalo, *mādi*,²⁷ *seruttal*;²⁸ *mādu*²⁹ was the general name of both the cow and the buffalo. Intimate acquaintance with animals developed a great love of them and the invention of a number of words relating to them. Thus beasts in general were called *vilāngu*,³⁰ *kurangam*,³¹ *mā*,³² *mān*,³³ their young ones, *kurulai*,³⁴ *kutti*,³⁵ *pillai*,³⁶ *māri*,³⁷ *kānyu*,³⁸ *kūlavi*,³⁹ *pārppu*,⁴⁰ *magavu*.⁴¹ Hornless animals were called *kumaram*;⁴² the horn was *ulavai*,⁴³ *kōdu*,⁴⁴ *maruppu*;⁴⁵ the tail, *tōgai*,⁴⁶ *kūlam*,⁴⁷ *vēśagam*.⁴⁸

TAME ANIMALS

The tame animals that were of use to man were *mān*,⁴⁹ deer, also named *ulai*,⁵⁰ *ēnam*,⁵¹ *sūnam*,⁵² *navvi*,⁵³ *pīnaimari*;⁵⁴ its male, *iralai*,⁵⁵ *ēru*,⁵⁶ *oruttal*,⁵⁷ *karumān*,⁵⁸ *kalai*,⁵⁹ *pulvāy*;⁶⁰ its female, *pīnai*;⁶¹ its young, *ēni*,⁶² *kānyu*,⁶³ *kūlavi*,⁶⁴ *tannam*,⁶⁵ *pāram*,⁶⁶ *pārppu*,⁶⁷ *māri*.⁶⁸ The ass *kaludai*,⁶⁹ besides the bullock, was a burden-bearer. The horse, *kudirai*,⁷⁰ was not a native of South India, and was imported in later times from Sind and Persia. The pig, *panji*,⁷¹ was another useful animal and was also named *ari*,⁷² *iruli*,⁷³ *cūli*,⁷⁴ *ēnam*,⁷⁵ *karumā*,⁷⁶ *kalirū*,⁷⁷ *kānal*,⁷⁸ *kānmā*,⁷⁹ *kidi*,⁸⁰ *kiri*,⁸¹ *kēlal*,⁸² *kōttuma*,⁸³ *maimmā*,⁸⁴ *mōlal*.⁸⁵

The dog first tamed by the hunter and then trained by the keeper of the cattle to watch the fold, was named, *nāy*,⁸⁶ *akkan*,⁸⁷ *asūlam*,⁸⁸ *aripam*,⁸⁹ *eginam*,⁹⁰ *kukkan*,⁹¹ *kūran*,⁹² *śunāngan*,⁹³ *ñamali*,⁹⁴ *ñali*,⁹⁵ *tuttam*,⁹⁶ *pāsi*;⁹⁷ its female, *pātti*,⁹⁸ *pīnai*,⁹⁹ *muduval*;¹⁰⁰ the pup, *kutti*,¹⁰¹ *kurulai*,¹⁰² *pāyal*;¹⁰³ the cat was called *alavan*,¹⁰⁴ *indi*,¹⁰⁵ *ōdi*,¹⁰⁶ *pāvanam*,¹⁰⁷ *pākkan*,¹⁰⁸ *pilli*,¹⁰⁹ *pūsai*,¹¹⁰ *pūnai*,¹¹¹ *verugu*;¹¹² it was also poetically called, *iripuli*,¹¹³ the house-tiger; the male cat was specially named *kaduvan*,¹¹⁴ *pōlin*;¹¹⁵ the kitten, *kutti*,¹¹⁶ *pāyal*,¹¹⁷ *pillai*.¹¹⁸

1புளி.	2பூபத்து.	3பேர்த்த.	4ஏ.நி.	5விலை.	6காலி.	7போதி.	8துரிப்பு.	9பக்கு.
10புறல்.	11கவரி.	12சிரி.	13செராய்.	14முரி.	15மேனி.	16வட்டாவ.	17வையை.	18குழவி.
19ஏந்த.	20ஷ.	21ஏரு.	22உம்பல்.	23ஏத்.	24ஏக்ரதல்.	25பக்கி.	26பேர்த்த.	27மா.
28ஏக்ரதல்.	29ஏடு.	30விலங்கு.	31குடுக்கட்ட.	32மீ.	33மங்க.	34குடுக்.	35குடு.	
36பாஷா.	37மற்.	38ஏந்த.	39குறவி.	40பார்ப்பு.	41மகா.	42குமர்.	43உலைவ.	44கேடு.
45மரப்பு.	46பேர்தை.	47கலம்.	48வேசகம்.	49பாடு.	50உறை.	51ஏணம்.	52குணம்.	
53ஏவலி.	54பினையி.	55இலை.	56ஏ...	57ஒருத்தல்.	58கருமான்.	59கலை.	60புல்வாய்.	
61பின்ன.	62ஏணி.	63ஏந்த.	64குழவி.	65தங்கட.	66பாது.	67பார்ப்பு.	68மா.	69குமுகத.
70குதிரை.	71பந்த.	72ஏரி.	73கிளை.	74ஏ...தி.	75ஏஞம்.	76கருமா.	77கல்லு.	78காங்கு.
79ஏஞ்சம்.	80கிடு.	81கிரி.	82பேஷல்.	83கேட்டுமார்.	84வையமா.	85பொறுமல்.	86காய்.	
87அக்கன்.	88அகுமர்.	89அறபு.	90ஏநைய.	91குக்கன்.	92கான.	93காணங்கன்.	94குவி.	
95குநனி.	96துத்தம்.	97பாதி.	98பாட்டு.	99பாஷை.	100ஞூவெல்.	101குட்டு.	102குக்கை.	
103புறல்.	104ஆலவன்.	105குத்தி.	106ஏநி.	107பாவனம்.	108பாக்கான்.	109பில்லு.		
110குதை.	111புக்கு.	112குருகு.	113குத்துபுலி	114குடுங்க.	115பேர்த்த.	116குடு.		
117புறல்.	118பிள்ளை.							

The other beasts familiar to the people were *anil*,¹ the squirrel, *karadi*,² the bear, *kattā*,³ the wild cow, *kīri*,⁴ the mongoose, *kurangu*,⁵ the monkey, *nari*,⁶ the jakal, *sennai*,⁷ the wild dog, the *nay*,⁸ or the *kondāy*,⁹ the wolf, *nīrnāy*,¹⁰ the beaver, *nāvippillai*,¹¹ the civet cat, *mutpanyi*,¹² the porcupine, *maraimān*,¹³ the yak, *muśu*,¹⁴ the ape, *muyal*,¹⁵ the hare, *yānai*,¹⁶ the elephant.

The chief house-pests were *eli*¹⁷ the rat, *kāreli*,¹⁸ the black rat, *peruchchāli*,¹⁹ the bandicoot, *mūnjūru*,²⁰ the mouse and the ubiquitous mosquito, *kośu*,²¹ which was such a great nuisance as to receive a dozen other names, *asaval*,²² *añalam*,²³ *ulaṅgu*,²⁴ *sagal*,²⁵ *tummu*,²⁶ *tulāl*,²⁷ *nilambi*,²⁸ *nulumbu*,²⁹ *nollal*,³⁰ *muñal*,³¹ *valu*,³² *añal*,³³ *ī*,³⁴ the house-fly and *andu*,³⁵ insect found in stored grain. But the bed bug seems to be an import from abroad, for, it has but a *kāraṇappayar*, i.e. *mūttaippūcchi*,³⁶ the bundle-insect.

BIRDS

There are many general names for birds *paravai*,³⁷ *kudiñai*,³⁸ *kurugu*,³⁹ *pul*;⁴⁰ their young ones, *kuñju*,⁴¹ *pārppu*;⁴² the cry of birds *payir*;⁴³ their nest, *kaṭchi*,⁴⁴ *kuñjuṛai*,⁴⁵ *kudambai*,⁴⁶ *kurambai*,⁴⁷ *kūndu*.⁴⁸ A flock of birds was called *tholūdi*,⁴⁹ the cries of a flock, *tuñani*;⁵⁰ the beating of a birds' wings, *oṣanaittal*,⁵¹ *pudaittal*;⁵² female birds are called *pedai*,⁵³ *pettai*,⁵⁴ *pedai*;⁵⁵ the females of birds other than the gallinaceous fowl and the owl, *alagu*;⁵⁶ their males except in the case of the peafowl and the *elāl*,⁵⁷ *seval*,⁵⁸ the cock of the peafowl and the *elāl*, *pottu*.⁵⁹ The food of birds and of some animals *irai*,⁶⁰ *undi*,⁶¹ *urai*,⁶² *ūtti*.⁶³

The following are names of some species of birds:—*anril*,⁶⁴ nightingale, *annam*,⁶⁵ swan *āndai*,⁶⁶ large eyed owl, *ullān*,⁶⁷ snipe, *ürkkuruvi*,⁶⁸ sparrow, *tūkkanānguruvī*,⁶⁹ *kavudāri*,⁷⁰ partridge, *kavudam*,⁷¹ king-fisher, *kalugu*,⁷² eagle, *kākkai*,⁷³ crow, *nirkkakkai*,⁷⁴ a diving water-bird, *kādai*,⁷⁵ quail, *kili*,⁷⁶ parrot, *kuyil*,⁷⁷ cuckoo, *kurugu*,⁷⁸ village fowl, also *koli*,⁷⁹ another variety, *kūgai*,⁸⁰ large hooting owl, *kokku*,⁸¹ stork, *sādagam*,⁸² sky-lark, *sichchili*,⁸³ king-fisher, *sival*,⁸⁴ *pagandai*,⁸⁵ another species of partridge, *sembottu*,⁸⁶ *nārai*,⁸⁷ heron, *parundu*,⁸⁸ kite, *pura*,⁸⁹ pigeon, *mayil*,⁹⁰ peafowl.

The love of nature and close observation of natural objects which was a great characteristic of the Tamils of ancient times are constantly revealed in early Tamil poems. On later Tamil Poetry the conventions of the later artificial Sanskrit Poetry wielded

1 அணில்.	2 சுடு.	3 சுட்டர்.	4 கீரி.	5 குஞ்சு.	6 வீரி.	7 செந்தூப்.	8 செய்.
9 செந்தூப்.	10 செந்தூப்.	11 சாவிப்பிள்ளை.	12 முட்பன்றி.	13 மூச்சமான்.	14 முச்.		
15 முவல்.	16 மூலி.	17 எலி.	18 பெருச்சாளி.	19 சுடெவி.	20 முஞ்சுற்.	21 செரை.	
22 அங்கல்.	23 அகலம்.	24 மூங்கு.	25 செல்.	26 சும்ரோ.	27 தூஞ்சல்.	28 திலம்பி.	
29 தழும்பு.	30 செந்தூப்.	31 முகுல்.	32 ஏலு.	33 அதுல்.	34 ச.	35 அச்ச.	
36 முட்டைப்பஞ்சி	37 பழவல்.	38 குடினை.	39 குருகு.	40 புள்.	41 குஞ்ச.	42 பர்ப்பு.	
43 பவிர்.	44 செடி.	45 குஞ்சகரை.	46 குடம்பை.	47 குரம்பை.	48 கூண்டு.	49 தெருஞ்சி.	
50 தழுஞி.	51 சுஞ்சைதல்.	52 புடைத்தல்.	53 பென்ட.	54 பெட்டை.	55 பெட்ட.		
56 அரகு.	57 செந்தூப்.	58 சேல்.	59 பேரத்து.	60 திரை.	61 உய்யாடு.	62 உறை.	
63 மூடு.	64 அணிந்ல்.	65 அண்மை.	66 ஆஞ்சைத.	67 செந்தூப்.	68 மாஞ்சகுரவி.		
69 துக்கண்ணங்குருவி.	70 கவதாரி.	71 கவதம்.	72 முகு.	73 சுட்டை.	74 செந்தூப்பை.		
75 காடை.	76 கெளி.	77 முயில்.	78 குருகு.	79 சேரம்.	80 கடை.	81 செர்க்கு.	
82 சுதாமல்.	83 சித்திலி.	84 சிவல்.	85 பெண்டை.	86 செம்பேருதை.	87 செந்.		
88 பருத்து.	89 குரு.	90 மயில்.					

great influence. Not so on the natural poetry of the earlier ages. To illustrate the keen observation of Fauna on the part of the poets, a few quotations are given. 'The pods of the Phaseolus mungo are like the red legs of the quail.'¹ 'The leaf of the *Caladium nymphæfolium* which grows on the hill, rich and waving, moved by the cold northwind in the month of Tai, resembles the ears of the elephant'.² 'The water-lily growing in deep pools resembles the back of the yellow-legged crane'.³ The carp, afraid that the stork would eat it, ducked under the water, but found itself near the lotus and equally feared its bud'.⁴ 'The nightingale which dwells on the palmyra leaves cries gently'.⁵ 'In the cold weather the *Cassia* flower like ourselves gets golden dots and the twig of the *Memecylon tinctorium* is filled with flowers and looks like the neck of a peacock'.⁶ 'The path traced by the claws of the crab will be extirpated by the waves of the sea'.⁷ 'The mountain from which honey-combs are hanging, as (the trappings from) the chariot'.⁸ 'The goat has a belly like the false skin of the flowering bean'.⁹ 'The flock of yellow legged fish-eating storks look like the pearls on the breast of Murugan when they fly in the red sky'.¹⁰ 'The shaggy head of the nemai tree looks like the rows of flags on the royal elephant. The spiders' webs round the tree waved in the west wind that blew over the hill called Ōdai; the lean elephants mistook them for clouds and lifted their trunks to catch them and sounded like the *tūmbu*¹¹ of the actors'.¹²

¹ புந்தகாவனன் செங்காலங்குஞ்சுத். *Kurundogai*, 68.

² சிலம்பிர் சேம்பினைவங்கள் வள்ளிலை
பெருங்களிற்குச் செலிலின் மரங்களத்தில்
தண்வால் வாடை தங்குவ
கடும்பனி. *Ib.* 76.

³ கைங்காற் கொக்கின் புன்புறத்தன்ன
குண்டுச் சாம்பல். *Ib.* 122.

⁴ குக்குகொனக் குளித்த கெண்டை யயல்
தகுகெழு தாமரை வான்முகை வெகுகும். *Ib.* 127.

⁵ மஞ்சலம் பெண்ணை மடல்சேர் வாழ்க்கை
யங்கிலும் பையென காறும். *Ib.* 177.

⁶ கெங்கோயம் பசலி
சம்போற் பசக்குஞ் காலை
..... காயங் பூக்கெழு பெருஞ்சினை
மென்மீலி வெருத்திற் தேங்காம். *Ib.* 183.

⁷ அலவன் கருகில் வரித்த
வீர்மண வீர்கெற் சிதைய வீழுமென
ஏருமிகைப் புணரி. *Ib.* 351.

⁸ சிரைசேர் நங்கேர் போலம்
பாசந் தங்குமீன். *Ib.* 392.

⁹ பூங்கொடி வாவரப் பொய்யத என்ன
ஏன்னில் வழித்த வென்னை வென்னமீன்.
Agam 104.

¹⁰ கெடுவேண் மார்ப்பாறம் போலச்
செங்கால் வாண்திண்டி மீனாஞ்சுதம்
கைங்காற் கொக்கினிகை பகை சும்பு. *Ib.* 120.

¹¹ யானைக் கேரண்டத்திற் கொடுபோல
வலந்திலை கூழ்யத்து வலந்த சிலம்பி
போடைக் குண்டத்துக் கேரடையெடு தப்பார
மகையென மருங்கட மம்மர் பலவுட
கேநுப்பளி கெடுத்த சேருப்பை கெடுக்கை
தொகுபோற் கேரடை தும்பியுலிக்கும். *Ib.* 111.

¹² ஆம்பு. a musical instrument.

' Green parrot with the red bill, who go on picking the bent stalks of the panicum, do not fear me ; give up the fear that any one would threaten you for picking the stalks. When you have finished with them and are at leisure, attend to my wants ; I join my palms and beg you to help me in this affair. If you go to your relatives who live in my lover's country, where grows the jack tree which bears abundant fruits, meet my lover who is the lord of this mountain and tell him that the young *Kurava* woman of the forest around this mountain is guarding the millet field to-day as usual. '

' The banyan tree bears many boughs full of fruits ; to eat the fruit many birds crowd round the tree. Their cries resemble the sound of many musical instruments. '

' The crowds of beetles which have thin wings eat the honey, and after the honey is exhausted desert the flowers. '

' The *aral*,⁵ lamprey, with nose like an ear of corn, creeps into the mud ; the *välai*,⁶ *Trichiurus lepturus*, which has a horn, moves tremulously on the water ; the fishermen approach the tank which have flowers bright as the flame, the tortoise looks like the hollow-bowelled *kinai*,⁷ (the drum of the *marudam*) ; the gravid *varal*,⁸ *Ophicephalus striatus*, is like the *nugumbu*⁹ of the palmyra ; with it fights the *kayal*,¹⁰ carp, which shines like a spear.'

TREES AND PLANTS

The ancient Tamils distinguished and named innumerable trees, plants, shrubs and creepers and knew their properties. The pure Tamil names of a few trees alone will be here referred to : *achcham*,¹¹ *Coronilla grandiflora*, commonly called *agatti*,¹² probably after Agastiya, *atti*,¹³ Indian fig, *anichchai*,¹⁴ a sensitive tree, *achcha*,¹⁵ *Diospyros ebenaster*, *atti*,¹⁶ *Bauhinia cemosa*, *äl*,¹⁷ the banyan, *itti*,¹⁸ *Ficus virens*, *ilandai*,¹⁹ jujube, *ilavam*,²⁰ the silk-cotton tree, *iluppai*,²¹ the long-leaved Bassia, *indu*,²² *Phoenix farinifera*, *usil*,²³ *Acacia pennata*, *etti*,²⁴

¹ தெடுங்கால் குறைத்த செவ்வாய்ப் பூபங்களி
மஞ் சோமபி மரச்செதல் தெங்கி
நின்குகை முடித்த பின்கை வெங்குகை
செந்தல் வேண்டுமால் கைதெழு திருப்பல
பல்கேட் பலவிள் காரவார்ச்சட்டு
நின்கை மருங்கிற சேற் பாபி
அம்மலை மீழோர்க் குறைமதி யிடம்கூட
கானக் குறவர் மடமக
கேள்வ காவ வாயிலை கென்வே. *Narrinai*, 102.

² தெடிபல முருங்கிய கோளி பாலத்தக
சடியத்தனை கால்புனை புன். *Malaiyadukadām*, 268-269.

³ தண்டர தண்டு வழங்கும் தழக்கு
மெங்கிகை வண்டினம். *Maduraikkāñji*, 573.

⁴ குதிர்கூக் கால் சீழ்ச்சேற் கிருளிப்பக
கிழங்கேட்டு வான் மீதிப் பிறு
வெரிப்பும் பழன் கெரித்துடன் வானு
ஏங்குட் ஏரியின் பரமை மீதிப்
பின்த கும்பங்கள் கிழங்குமதி வார்கோ
தெவே வங்க வோர்க் கயல்.

Puyam, 249.

⁵ ஆரல் ஓவை. ⁷ இடை. ⁸ வர-ல். ⁹ கடுமைப், perhaps the tender kernel of the fruit.
¹⁰ மல். ¹¹ அஷ்ட. ¹² அஷ்ட. ¹³ குத்த. ¹⁴ அளிச்சை. ¹⁵ ஆர்த. ¹⁶ அத்தி. ¹⁷ ஆவ.
¹⁸ இட்டி. ¹⁹ பிலக்கா. ²⁰ துவவம். ²¹ இலுப்பை. ²² சுத. ²³ கால. ²⁴ எட்டு.

Strychnos nux vomica, *elumichchai*,¹ the lemon tree, *omai*,² the mango, also *ma*,³ *kadambu*,⁴ *Eugenia racemosa*, *kadavu*,⁵ *Gyrocarpus jacquini*, *kadu*,⁶ the gall-nut tree, *kamugu*,⁷ the areca palm, *karungali*,⁸ the ebony, *kalli*,⁹ *Euphorbia tirucalli*, *kaya*,¹⁰ *Memecylon tinctorium*, *kurundu*,¹¹ *konyai*,¹² *Cassia*, *sandanam*,¹³ or *aram*,¹⁴ sandal-wood tree, *tengu*,¹⁵ cocoanut tree, *tekku*,¹⁶ teak, *nāval*,¹⁷ the jambolan tree, *nelli*,¹⁸ Indian gooseberry, *pālā*,¹⁹ the jack tree, *pānai*,²⁰ palmyra, *pādiri*,²¹ *Bignonia chelonoides*, *pālai*,²² the iron-wood tree, *pūli*,²³ the tamarind tree, *punnai*,²⁴ the Alexandrian laurel, *pūvaraśu*,²⁵ the Portia tree, *pūvandi*,²⁶ the soapnut tree, *magil*,²⁷ a tree of very sweet smelling flower, *madalai*,²⁸ the pomegranate, *muruṅgai*,²⁹ *Hyperanthera murunga*, *mūngil*,³⁰ the bamboo, *vāgai*,³¹ *marudam*,³² *Terminalia alata*, *vanni*,³³ *Prosopis spicigera*, *vilvam*,³⁴ *Crataeva religiosa*, *vīlā*,³⁵ the wood-apple, *vēngai*,³⁶ the *Pterocarpus bilobus vembu*,³⁷ the margosa tree. The names of smaller plants, and of different kinds of leaves and flowers are so numerous that it is not possible to catalogue them or even to mention the more familiar varieties. The unblown flower was called *arumbu*,³⁸ the parts of flowers, *idal*;³⁹ *pūnden*;⁴⁰ young trees *nāgu*;⁴¹ fruiting trees, *palinam*,⁴² trees with heart-wood inside, *āumarān*,⁴³ with heart-wood outside, *penmaram*,⁴⁴ branch, groups of trees without heart-wood, *ali*,⁴⁵ *veliru*,⁴⁶; the synonyms of the word, tree, are very considerable in number. I will content myself with noting a few poetic images which show how keen was the observation of nature by the ancient Tamils :—

'The gourd (*pirkku*,⁴⁷) with round, white flowers grows along with the thin creeper *muśundai*,⁴⁸ on shrubs.'⁴⁹

'The hill country has bamboos which wave to and fro and its clear clouds spread the dew amidst the peacocks whose expanded tails shine like the sapphire.'⁵⁰

'The forest land possesses the expanding jasmine, *talavu*,⁵¹ the broad November flower, *tōri*,⁵² the mullai with the petals opened, the *teru*,⁵³ (clarifying-nut tree) which drops its flowers, the *konyai*,⁵⁴ *Cassia*, whose flowers are like gold, the *kaya*,⁵⁵ whose flowers are like sapphire.'⁵⁶

'The *kuravam*,⁵⁷ has flowered; the cold weather is gone; in the beautiful spring, in the river, a slender stream is running; the wide river with straight stretches of sand has its banks adorned with many

1 ஏழமித்தை. 2 ஓமை. 3 மர். 4 கடம்பு. 5 கடவு. 6 தகுடு. 7 கருங்கால். 8 கங்கை. 9 கங்கை.
 10 சூரிய. 11 குருத்து. 12 வகளையை. 13 செத்தணம். 14 ஆர்த. 15 செந்த. 16 செத்து. 17 செவன்.
 18 பெஞ்சலி. 19 பலர். 20 பலை. 21 பாதிரி. 22 பாலை. 23 புளி. 24 புஞ்சை. 25 புரச. 26 புவங்கி.
 27 புந்து. 28 பாதை. 29 புருங்கை. 30 புஞ்சை. 31 வகை. 32 புருதம். 33 வன்னி. 34 வில்லம்.
 35 விரை. 36 வேங்கட. 37 வெம்பு. 38 ஆர்தம். 39 இதம். 40 புக்கேதன். 41 சுரு. 42 பலனம். 43 ஆண்மை. 44 பெண்மை. 45 அலி. 46 வெந்த. 47 பீட்கு. 48 முகண்டை. *Iponcea Candicans*.

49 புஞ்சைடி முகண்டைப் பேரத்தில் உள்ளுப்

பூர்ணபேர் பர்மேரு புத்துதல். *Nedunalvāndai*, 13-14.

50 மணி மலிற கலபு மஞ்சிடைப் பாப்பித் துணிமிதழ தவழுக் தபங்கழ பொருத் தெரு.

Sirupāṇārṛuppadai, 264-5.

51 பூஷி. 52 செந்த. 53 செரு. (54 செஞ்சை. 55 செபு.

56 அவிழ்தாலி ஏக்காலோந்த

குழல்லை புக்கேதறவிப்

பூர்வேங்கட மணிக்கை.

57 குவை.

Porunadarṛuppadai, 199-201.

marudam trees; the mango has its branches decorated with tender leaves; the smoke-like cloud creeps along its boughs filled with bunches of flowers; the cuckoos enjoy the beauty of the scene and sing.'¹

'The roots of the bamboo are intertwined with each other; when the winds blow upon them they sound like the sigh of the elephant tied to its post. Looking at the moon which crept over the hill standing in a forest of bamboos, I said to myself, another moon (his mistress with a face bright as a moon) with teeth sharp as thorns and a fair face adorned by a sweet-smelling mark (*tilakam*) is standing on the hills, on whose rocks grow trees whose bare branches have shed their leaves in the strong gale, did I not?'²

'The *konyai* flowers spread on a pit cut in a stone resemble a box of the wealthy man, filled with gold coins and kept open.'³ 'The cool flowers of the *talai* (screw-pine), which has bent thorns, when scattered by the winds, run like the pearls of a garland when the thread is snapped, on the white sands of the sea-shore.'⁴

'The garden was crowded with tall bamboos from which thorns hang and on which rest the cuckoos, which have bent claws and thin blue feathers, after drinking the mango juice, sweet as if milk were mixed with it, and after that, the sour juice of the *nelli* fruit.'⁵

'The *mallai*, jasmine, which flowers in places adjoining a stream looks like the teeth of a cat laughing.'⁶

1. குவமரங்
தாகிர சீல்கிய வரும்பலிழ் வெனி
வறவளிர் வர்மண வகவியாற் நடக்காத
தனையணி மருத்மொ டிகல்லோன வோங்கிக்
கவுழ்தவி ரணிக்த விருஞ்சினை யாஆத்
திணச்ததத புதப்பு விரைத்த பெங்காப்
புகைபுரை யம்மஞ் கு
ஏர் குவிலரவும்.

Agam, 97.

2. பீவார்பினி வெந்திர்த்துக் கால்வாபார் நாவிளசை
ஈதுபினி யானை யயர்வுமிர்த் தன்ன
வென்றும் சீதுய வேஷ்பிறக் கழுவத்தாக
குங்குர் மதியை சேர்க்கி தின்ற சினிக்
துணினே எல்லனே யானே முன்னேவிற்காத
திலகம் கைதியை தேங்கமற் திருத்த
வெமது முன்டோர் மதிநாட் டுங்கன்
சூரகூல் வெங்வனி யெமிப்ப சிமற்பல.
ஏல்வை யாகிய மாத்த
கல்பிந்து மரமலை யும்பாகி தென்வே.

Nagrinai, 62.

3. கவலை கெண்டிய கல்வாய்ச் சிராகுறி
கொங்கை யெரன்வீ தா ஆய்ச் செல்வர்.
பொன்பேப் பேழை முப்திநாக் தன்ன.

Kurundogai, 233.

4. கங்குண் முன்டகக் கர்ம்பன் மரமலர்
அவற் முத்திற் காலோடு பாதித்
தூறைதூறம் பறிக்குங் துமணல்.

Ib., 51.

பால்கலப் பன்ன தேக்கெரக் கருஞ்துப்
லீல மெங்கினை வன்னுகிரப் பறகவ
கெல்லியம்புளி மரந்தி யயலத
முன்னி வம்பனை முங்கிலிற் நாங்குங்
கைமாவிவ் தோங்கிய சேலை. *Ib.*, 201.

5. அரவிசேர் மருங்கிழ் புத்த முல்லை
வெருகுமிரித் தன்ன. *Ib.*, 220.

IDEAL OF FEMININE BEAUTY

A people so acutely observant of natural objects and capable of keen relish of their beauty would naturally deal largely in descriptions of feminine charms ; of numerous references to this subject I shall quote but one :—The songstress had hair like the black sand on the sea-shore ; her fair forehead was like the crescent moon, her eye-brow bent like the bow that kills ; the outer end of her cool eyes was beautiful, her sweetly speaking mouth was red like the sheath of the fruit of the silk cotton tree ; her spotlessly white teeth were like rows of many pearls ; her ears were like the curved handles of scissors and their lobes were shaking with bright ear rings shaped like the crocodile. Her neck was bent down with modesty ; her shoulders were like the waving bamboo trees ; her forearms were covered with thin hair ; her fingers were like the November flower which grows on the tops of high hills ; her brightly shining nails, like the mouth of a parrot. Her breasts, covered with light coloured beauty spots, were such as people thought that it would cause her pain to bear them, and were so high that the rib of a cocoanut leaf could not go between them ; her navel was very beautiful and resembled a whirl-pool in water. Her waist was so small that observers could not guess that it existed (and that it bore the weight of the body) with difficulty. Her pudendum was adorned with a *mēgalai*, many stringed waist band with many bells, looking as if it swarmed with bees ; her thighs, straight and thin like the trunk of a female elephant ; her lower legs were covered with hair, as it ought to be, up to the ankles, and her small feet were like the tongue of a tired dog.¹

INDUSTRIES

Carpentry began and was well developed in the Stone Age ; for all sorts of carpenter's tools have been picked up from the settlements of the lithic epoch. Most of these tools were made of iron when the Iron Age succeeded. The workers in wood was called *tachchar*² or *yānar*.³ Carpenters had a greater variety of work to do than in modern days, for besides making the wooden furniture and utensils in

¹ அறல்பேர் காதா பின்றபேர் நாராதம்
கெலவீலித் புடவத்தக் கெழுக்கடை மகுடை
எனவிதம் புரைப் பின்மொழித் தவர்வாய்ப்
பலவற முதித் பழித் தெண்பன்
மயிர்குரை கருவி மாங்கடை பன்ன
முங்குழை பூசார் பொறைஶால் காதி
அண்டச் சாய்த் தலங்கின் ரோத்தி
ஆடையைப் பனைத்தோ எரியிவர் முன்வை
கெலவைரை மிகையிலுப் பாஞ்சன் மெல்விருப்
கிளிவா யெப்பும் கெளிவிடு ஏங்குழி
நொங்கிளன் ஏருத்த கணம்கணி பாந்
தீங்கிளைப் பூர்சா வேரின் வாஞ்சலை
கீர்ப்பெயர்க் கழிவி னினாந்த கொப்பு
முங்கடை ஏண்ணா ஏயுவு கடுவின்
ஏண்டிருப் பன்ன பல்கா மாங்கு
விரும்பிடித் தடக்கையில் செற்கத்திற்கு முங்கிற
பெருக்குமை கிராஃபிய திருக்குதாட்ட கொப்பு
ஏக்கு காஸ் காவிரி பெருக்குத் தீநடி. *Pornāvūrūpapudai*, 25-47.

² பூசை.

³ மராய்.

household use, they had also to build houses, palaces, and temples, carts and chariots. Turning and wood-carving were highly developed. The legs of sitting planks and swinging planks were turned according different designs. Every available corner of wooden articles in houses, carts, and chariots were filled with wood carving, of elaborate patterns carved in minute detail with the extraordinary patience that the Indian artist alone is capable of. No work, big or small, left the carpenter's hands without some art work on it so that there was no sharp distinction as there is in Europe between utilitarian and artistic work. So much so that one of the synonyms for *tachchan*¹ is *sittiran*,² artist.

Boat building was also an ancient form of wood-work, but was in the hands of men who lived in *Neydal*, that is, coast land. It is worth noting that the boat builders were affiliated with fishermen, so far as social status was concerned. The work of the boat-builder is no less skilful than that of other carpenters ; but yet the social position of the later was much higher than that of the former. This was partly because the boat-builders shared in the food and the personal habits of the fishermen among whom they lived ; moreover the wood-work of the boat builder is cruder than that of the carpenter and does not admit of art work like other forms of wood work, so that the boat-builder had the status of the journeyman worker whereas the carpenters were allotted the privileges of the artist. While the boat-builders were of low status, chariot-makers were the companions of kings.

Workers in metal were called *kammalar*,³ *akkasalaiyar*,⁴ *arivar*,⁵ *ovar*,⁶ *kannalar*,⁷ *kanvinaiñar*,⁸ *kammiyar*,⁹ *kollar*,¹⁰ *karumár*,¹¹ *tattar*,¹² *tuvañtar*,¹³ *pulavar*,¹⁴ *punaiyar*,¹⁵ *vittagar*,¹⁶ *vittiar*,¹⁷ *vinaiñar*.¹⁸ They worked in iron, steel, copper, bronze, silver and gold. They were very skilful workers as is proved by the specimens of jewels and utensils recovered from ancient graves. Huge vessels of these various metals were made by hammering into shape immense blocks of metals. This requires much more skill than the method of cutting out sheets, *adar*,¹⁹ *tagadu*,²⁰ of metal, bending them into the shapes of the different parts of a vessel and rivetting or soldering them together, such as is done now. The import of large sheets of thin metal from Germany has made our workers forget the art of hammering out big vessels and making them without joints. The delicate carving on gold and silver that was the glory of ancient India is not yet dead, thanks to the love of personal decoration which modern civilization has not yet been able to root out of the souls of our ladies. Ladies loved jewels so much that there are many words which mean ' to wear jewels,' e.g., *ani*,²¹ *är*,²² *südu*,²³ *punai*,²⁴ *pün*,²⁵ *malai*,²⁶ *milai*,²⁷ *milai*,²⁸ *vey*,²⁹ *ey*,³⁰ *vey* ;³¹ the noun forms of many of these words mean jewels. Some professions subsidiary to that of the goldsmiths ' who heat good gold and make shining jewels out of it '³²

¹ தோன்.	² சித்திரன்.	³ கம்மளர்.	⁴ அக்கஸலையர்.	⁵ அறவர்.	⁶ ஓவர்.
⁷ கண்ணார்.	⁸ கன்வினைருர்.	⁹ கம்மயர்.	¹⁰ கெருங்கள்.	¹¹ கருமர்.	¹² தட்டர்.
¹³ தவட்டர்.	¹⁴ புலவர்.	¹⁵ புனையர்.	¹⁶ வித்தார்.	¹⁷ வித்தியர்.	¹⁸ வினார்.
¹⁹ அர்.	²⁰ தடி.	²¹ அனி.	²² ஆர்.	²³ குரி.	²⁴ புன.
²⁷ மிலை.	²⁸ மிலை.	²⁹ வேய்.	³⁰ எய்.	³¹ வேய்ம்.	²⁵ புனை.

were those of the *kadainar*,¹ who 'turn cut conch shells into bangles,'² *kuyinar*,³ 'who drill holes in beautiful gems'.⁴

The weaver's art was equally well developed. They were called *kammiyar*,⁵ *seniyar*,⁶ *karugar*.⁷ They hawked clothes about in the streets of towns. 'Young and old weavers assembled where four streets met, stood with their legs touching each other and spread clothes whose folds, short and long, resembled the waves of the sea.'⁸

Similes derived from the work of these workmen are found in literature. One such runs as follows:—'The legs of the crab are like the open jaws of the smith who works at the furnace where air is blown in by pressing bellows made of soft skin.'⁹ 'The leaves of the water-lily are caught in the thorny rasplike stem of the cane which grows on the edges of ponds and waves slowly in the unsteady north-wind and swells and swings like the bellows which drive air quickly into the furnace of the smith.'¹⁰ 'The male bear which has a wide mouth, seeking food, breaks an ant hill whose surface is covered by curved lines and its grunt frightens the snakes which reside in the ant-hill; then it sighs like the nose of the furnace where the smith heats iron.'¹¹

Here is a splendid simile derived from the work of the blacksmith:—

'His chest was as hard as the anvil which stands before the furnace lighted in the smithy where the blacksmith with strong arms turns iron into implements that may be used against the enemy.'¹²

¹ கடைநர்.

² சேருபோழ் கடைகரும்.

Maduraikkāñji, 511.

³ குயினர்.

⁴ திருமணி குயினரும்.

Ib., 511.

⁵ கம்மியர்.

⁶ செனியர். ⁷ காருகர்.

⁸ தெண்டிகள் பயிரால் கடிபப் பொன்பல்
குதிபவு கொடிபவு மதிதால் விரத்தங்
சிறபரும் பெரிபரும் கம்மியர் குதிது
கால்வேற் தெருவிலும் காலுற வித்தர்.

Ib., 519-522.

⁹ மெக்கேஞ்
மிதியிலக் கொல்லன் முறிசோடிட் நன்ன
காவத்தா எவ்வன்.

Perumbānārruppadai, 206-8.

¹⁰ போம்கை கடைகரைப் பிரக்கி
ஏவட என்ன வங்மை கண்ணிட்டொடி
ஏருகி பாம்ப கடைகை தடக்கி
ஏக்கவரல் வரடை துக்கவி ஓாக்கீ
பிக்கவாங்கு நேவலன் வீங்குபு நூழிழு.

Agam, 96.

¹¹ இகாடே ரெண்கின் பகுவர யேற்கை
கொவிலரிப் புற்றம் வர்ய்பப் பாங்கி
கல்லரா நடிங்க ஏற்க கொல்ல
ஆதலைக் குதிதி னுஸ்குவிர்த்த.

Narrinai, 125.

¹² பகைவாங்க
கிருக்கு பயன்படுக்குங் குருங்கைக் கொல்லன்
விசைத்தெறி கூட்டுமாடு போரும்
முலைகா வென்ன வங்கர என்கே.

Puyam, 170.

Other professions that deserve mention are that of the toddy-drawer, oil presser, sugar-cane presser, manufacturer of jaggery and of liquor.

TRADE

The word for trade *vanigam*¹ is usually supposed to be derived from Sanskrit *vāṇijyam*. The probabilities are just the other way about. *Vāṇiyam* is derived from *vanik* or *banik*, merchant, and this later word is almost certainly from the vedic *pani*. The *panis* were the traders of Vedic times and as they were Dasyus and would not pay *dakshina* to the performers of Ārya rites the Rishis denounced them as being niggards.² The *panis* being Dasyus were most probably the Tamil traders of the early Vedic epoch, for in those days the Tamils alone of South Indians were the most civilized tribes and the objects of internal trade, then and for long after, were, as it has been already pointed out, South Indian products like pearls, corals, sandal wood, pepper, and other spices. Hence the word *pani* and its variants and derivatives must have passed to North India from the South; hence Tamil *vaniga* became *banik* and *pani*. There is a Vedic root *pan*, to negotiate, which in later Sanskrit came to mean to stake. This root may have been coined from *pani*.

Trade first began in Neydal. For the *paradavar*³ of that region, where cereals could not be raised, could get only fish and salt to eat. Now it may be possible to keep up life solely on fish, all the courses from soup to pudding being made from that one food-stuff, but one cannot live comfortably for any length of time on fish alone, notwithstanding the fact that the remote ancestors of all animals were aquatic beings; for very soon the hankering for vegetable food will assert itself. So the ancient dwellers of the littoral tracts learnt to carry fish and salt and (later salted fish) to the neighbouring *marudam* and barter their goods for cereals. Hence in the poems belonging to the *Neydal tinai*⁴ there is frequent mention of the trade in salt. One instance of it may be given. 'His wounds caused by the sword-fish having been cured, my father has gone to the big blue sea for fishing; my mother too has gone to the salt fields to barter salt for white rice; so if the lover comes now he can without any hindrance meet his mistress.'⁵

Sellers of salt were called *umanar*,⁶ *umattiyar*.⁷ This ancient trade in which a double bag of salt was placed like a saddle on the back of a bull, which was driven from place to place in the interior of the land, can be observed even to-day in far-off villages. When the salt trade reached greater proportions it was carried in carts. 'The wheel, *uruḷi*⁸ of the cart was surrounded by a round rim *sūṭu*⁹ which went round the spokes, *ar*,¹⁰ tightly fixed to the hub *kuradu*,¹¹ which looked like a drum, *muṭavu*.¹² The strong yoke, *pār*,¹³ was fastened to two long beams placed on the axle-tree, *parūkkai*,¹⁴ which looked like an *elū*,¹⁵ timber placed between two elephants to prevent them from fighting with each other. Its top, *vāy*,¹⁶ bore a creaking mat of *ragi* stalks, *arvai*,¹⁷ as the hill bears clouds on its top. In the

¹ வாணிகம். ² R. V. vi. 51. 14 ; vii. 22. 6. ³ பரதவர். ⁴ செய்தல்தினை.

⁵ சு வெறிந்த புண்டனிக் கெத்தைபு
கீணிரப் பெருங்கடல் புக்கள் அடு
முப்பை மாற வெண்ணென்ற ரீதிய
அப்புவினை கழனி செங்கள எதனுற
பணியிரும் பரப்பிற சேரப்பற
கிளைவரி கொணியன். *Kurundogai*, 269.

⁶ உமானர். ⁷ உமட்டியர். ⁸ உடுவி. ⁹ குட்டி. ¹⁰ ஆர். ¹¹ குரடு. ¹² முடவு.
13 பரு. ¹⁴ பருக்கை. ¹⁵ ஏறு. ¹⁶ வரபு. ¹⁷ ஆர்வை.

front of a hut which possessed a hen-coop, resembling a loft from which men guard the crops from being devasted by elephants, was a woman, with a child at her side, and a twig of margosa with flowers and leaves held in her hands to protect the child from demons ; she stood near the yoke from which was hanging a pot of vinegar, tied with strings like the drum of a dancing girl on a dancing platform ; and she beat the back of the bull with a wooden mortar whose mouth was as big as the knee of a female elephant with tusks resembling the shoot of a bamboo. Their men who wore garlands of flowers and leaves, whose shoulders were big, beautiful and strong, and whose limbs were supple and powerful, walked by the cart to whose yokes rows of bulls were tied with ropes passing through small holes ; the men saw that the carts were not upset. They fixed the price of salt in terms of other articles and passed along the road with teams of reserve bulls to replace those that became exhausted.'¹

What an extremely realistic and at the same time highly poetical description of a subject which no modern man would regard as capable of poetic treatment at all !

Another article hawked about from place to place was pepper. Grown in Malabar, the land of the Sēras, it was a necessary ingredient of curry throughout South India. ' Pepper bags looking like the small-pulped big jack fruit which grows at the foot of the majestic jack-tree are balanced on the strong, scarred, prick-eared donkey which carries the pepper along long roads where tolls are collected. These roads are guarded by bow-men.'²

Gradually as cities grew in size, the power of monarchs grew to ample proportions, civilization advanced, and trade in numerous articles of necessity and luxury grew in the land. In cities ' there were people who vended various things including many beautiful looking

¹ கொழுஞ்சூட் தர்சிய திருச்தலை பாரத
முறவி என்ன முழும் ஏருளி
பேழுப் புணர்தனன் பகுதக்கூட சேஷ்பர்,
மரிக் குஞ்ச மதைசுமக் தனன்
வாரா வேய்ந்த வகறாய்ச் சுடை
வேறா் காவலர் குங்கைப் பேய்ப்பக
கோழி சேக்குஞ் கடையைப் புதலிக்
முனையெயிற் திரும்பிடி முத்தா சேய்க்குஞ்
தனையார் தீடை தூங்கந் துக்கி
ஏடாக மகனி ராமீஸ் தெஜித்த
விசிவீல் கிண்ணீயங் கடைப்பக் கவிறப்பின்றது
ஏடி வைத்த வலுடை முக்கின்
மகாடை நகேழப் பகுபுமந் தாப்பக
கோட்டினர் வேம்பி சேந்திலை மிடைதை
படலைக் கண்ணைப் பாரேந்த தினிதேஷன்
முடலை பாக்கை முழுவலி மாக்கன்
சிறதாங்க் கொடுதூக செந்பட நிறைத்த
பெருங்கவிற் கருங்கை மருங்கிற் காப்பக
சில்பத ஏணவின் கொங்கை சாற்றிப்
பல்லவருத் தமணர் பதிபோகு கெடுதே

Perumbānārāyappadai, 46-65.

² தடாவிலைப் பலவின் முழுமுதற் காரணத்
சிர்சைப் பெரும்பழங் கடைப்ப செதியற்
புணர்ப்பேரைத் தாங்கிய வெளந் சேஷ்புமா
தனைர்ச்செல்க் கழுதைச் சாந்தேஷு வழங்
முல்குடைப் பெருவழிக் கலைக் காக்கும்
விஸ்வாகை சைப்பு.

ibid., 77-82.

articles of food, produced in the hill country, in the low country and in the sea. There were traders who, brought different kinds of brilliant gems, pearls and gold from far off lands.... There were men who assayed gold ; there were sellers of clothes, vendors of copper vessels which were sold by weight, men who, when their business was over, tied the proceeds to their loin cloth, men who sold choice flowers, and scented pastes. There were clever painters, *kannul vinaiñar*,¹ who painted pictures of all kinds of minute incidents'.² This description pertains to the trade of the beginning of the first millennium A.D., but this trade could not have differed from that of a very much earlier epoch, because civilization did not grow by leaps and bounds in any particular period, but grew so gradually that the life conditions of any one epoch resembled very much those of previous ages.

'Traders carried jewels to foreign countries on ships that had sails spread in the wind and that sailed on the ocean whose waves smelt of fish'.³ They carried jewels for sale on land, but in a country where the *Maravar* followed as their only profession that of highway robbery, the travels of traders were fraught with adventure. 'The merchants who enabled all men to enjoy the grand things which are found on the mountain and in the sea have breasts full of scars made by the piercing arrows, clothes tied tight round their waists and a knife stuck into it, strong broad shoulders to which was attached the cruel bow and so resembled *Murugan* who wears the *Kadambu* flower. They held in their hands a big spear like *Yaman*. A stinging dagger with a white handle made of ivory, looking like a snake creeping on a hill, was tied with a belt to their shoulders ; their strong feet were covered with shoes and they wore coats'.⁴

¹ கண்ணுள் வினாக்கர்.

² பல்வேறு பண்டமே தேன்மலிக்கு கவினி
மலையெ ஸிலத்தெ சீராம் பிரெவம்
பல்வேறு திருமணி முதமொடு பொன்னெரங்கு
சிறக்கு தேஷத்துப் பண்ணியம் பக்கங்கு
.....
பொன்னுரை காண்மருங் கவிஞகம் பக்கங்கு
செம்புசிறை கொண்மரும் வம்புசிறை முடிகரும்
புஷ்டு புகைபு மரபு மரக்கா
மெங்வகைச் செய்திபு முவமங்காட்டி
அன்னிதி ஜூணர்க்கு தழைக்கு சேர்க்கிற
கண்ணுள் வினாக்கரம்.

Maduraikkānji, 503-6, 513-18.

'பண்ணியம்' in this passage meaning an article of trade is a derivative of *Pani* trader.

³ அவிதை யெடுத்த வளிதரு வங்கம்

.....
ஏந்தலை வினாக்கர் கவுன் கொண்டு மதுக. *Ib.*, 536 and 539.

⁴ மலையெ கடலை மரணப்பயக் தலை
மரும்பொரு ஏகுத்துத் திருக்குத்தெரடை சேர்க்கு
எடிபுதை யரண மெய்திப் படம்புக்குப்
பொருக்கின தெலைச்சிப புண்ணக் மரப்பின
விரைவரிக் கண்ண வெண்ணை பெர்வங்க
வரைகுர் பரம்பின் புண்முகை துங்கக்
கரிகை தழைக்கு கற்றவைக்கு
கருவி லோக்கிய கண்ணக வெறும்புத்தேடு
கடம்பமர் கெடுவே என்ன மீனி
புடம்பிழக் தடக்கை சூட்டு வம்பலர்.

Perumbanaiyippurappadai, 67-76.

Balances for weighing articles of trade were of two kinds. One was the steel-yard called *nemankol*¹ or *niraikol*²; this was made of wood and resembled the steelyards used in villages to-day; rich merchants, however, used steelyards made of ivory.³ The second was the *tarasu*,⁴ a pair of scales. All this trade was carried on by barter, as old Indians did not like to coin metal, and when they got coins from foreign countries, made jewels of them for their bosoms or hoarded them deep in the bosom of mother-earth.

Traders, in the Tamil country, were and are called *setti*.⁵ This word has been sanskritized into *śreshṭī* and assimilated to the adjective *śreshtha*, excellent. *Śreshṭī* is by some supposed to have degenerated into *setti*; I consider this derivation to be a topsy-turvy one. *Setti* is the personal noun from *settu*, trade, a *setti* being one who pursues *settu*, trade, as his profession; for it is absurd to think that the Tamil traders carried on their profession for ages without a name for their profession or for themselves as followers of the profession. Hence it is reasonable to infer that *śreshthī* is Tamil *setti* dressed in a Sanskrit garb. Sanskrit scholars suffer from a form of superiority-complex and believe that Sanskrit, the language of the Gods, being a perfect language, could not stoop so low as to borrow words from the languages of men. Hence they are fond of inventing derivations, ingenious and plausible, but absurd from a historical point of view, for words borrowed from foreign sources. Thus they say that *hammīra*, borrowed from Persian *amīr*, is a contraction of *aham vīrah*; they explain *kshatrapa*, satrap, also borrowed from Persian, as *kshtram pātī kshatrapah*; they derive *horā*, which was borrowed from Greek, from *ahorātrām*, with its head and its tail amputated. The derivation of *setti* from *śreshthī* is of a piece with these products of a perverse ingenuity.

The capital with which the ancient traders traded was called *mudal*,⁶ initial stock. I wonder whether *mudaliyār*⁷ meant originally men with *mudal*. There has always been a rivalry between *mudaliar* and *pillai*⁸ with regard to social status; does this point to an ancient rivalry between merchants and agriculturists? We have no materials which can help us to solve this question. Literary evidence merely indicates that both those who produced crops and those who sold them belonged to the class of *melor*,⁹ who were qualified to become the heroes of love poems.

Trade on any scale would scarcely be possible without debts. The word *kadan*¹⁰ shows that debts were contracted in olden times. Interest was called *vatti*,¹¹ a word usually identified with prakrit *vaddi* Sanskrit *vriddhi*. The Tamil word might as well be derived from Tamil *vattu*, a small piece, or *vatti*, cowries, cowries being small change, *sillarai*.¹² *Vāsi*¹³ meant a deduction other than *vatti*; the literal meaning of the word seems to be 'additional'. The places where mercantile transactions took place were *kadai*,¹⁴ *maligai*,¹⁵ *angādi*,¹⁶ and *sandai*,¹⁷ which has become in English 'Shandy'.

1 முன்சென்.

2 பிரபாரை.

மாண் வரண்மகுப் பேந்தை வெள்ளக்கலை
செய்வைத் தலைஅடி.

Puram 39.

4 திரு.	5 செட்டி.	6 முதல்.	7 முதலியர்.	8 பங்கி.	9 ஜில்லை.	10 ஏடு.
11 வட்டி.	12 சில்லகை.	13 எடி.	14 கலை.	15 மதிகை.	16 அடி.	17 கிராம.

There are several minor subjects about which the evidence of pure Tamil words and of early literature can be profitably used, but which I have now no time to deal with. Those subjects are: Diseases and medicines, knowledge of human and animal anatomy, notions of jurisprudence, recognized terms of relationship, death-rites, division of time, astronomical notions, knowledge of colours, of meteorological phenomena, reading and writing, notions of psychology and ethics. Without the inclusion of these subjects, our reconstruction of the life of the ancient Tamils will not be complete.

This life of the Tamil people slowly evolved from the beginning of the Old Stone Age, that of the Āryas of North India began to influence. This was not a catastrophic inroad into the south from the north but a very slow process of infiltration. This infiltration began in the middle of the third millennium B.C. Then Paraśurāma settled with a number of followers, south of the Vindhya. Many of Viśvamitra's sons, soon after, migrated to South India, as the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* informs us. But yet at the beginning of the second millennium B.C., when Rāma crossed the Godāvarī, the non-Aryan Rākshasas were predominant in Southern India and the southernmost Ārya colony was that of the Āgastyas on the banks of that river. In the age of the Mahābhārata, in which Tamil soldiers took part, Ārya influence in Southern India increased. But still in about the sixth century B.C. Āpastambha, the last of the Sūtrakāras, called a Rishi by courtesy, flourished near the banks of the Godāvarī and made laws for the Āryas there. Tamil India produced no Rishi, neither a Rishi of the *mantradraṣṭā* type, nor even of the later type of the promulgator of the Śrauta, Grīhya, and Dharma Sūtras. Into the Tamil land, Brāhmaṇas, Bauddhas, and Jainas spread in the centuries preceding and succeeding the beginning of the Christian era. The early Pallavas of Kāñcī were chiefly responsible for this migration of the Āryas. Notwithstanding the widespread of Brāhmaṇas, literature was chiefly in the hands of the Tamil *Pāṇar* and hence neither the Sanskrit language nor Sanskrit literature exercised much influence till about the fifth century after Christ. Early in that age, Trinadhumāgni, author of *Tolkāppiyam*, tried to adapt the social system of the northerners to the Tamil people, but without any success. Meanwhile the religious ideas of the *Itihāsas* spread among the common people. The teachings and practices of the Bauddhas and the Jainas were also promulgated from the monasteries of those monks. The complicated rites of Siva-worship and Vishṇu-worship as propounded in the Āgamas were adopted by the people and temple rites became the monopoly of a special sect of Brāhmaṇas; as a result of this, these two cults became wedded to the Ārya system of four varṇas, ill-adjusted to the old-scheme of Tamil classes. One of the results of this was the extension of the idea of endogamous caste and the rise of innumerable castes marked by endogamy—an idea unknown to the Tamils of the early ages. Another result was that Tamil lost its linguistic and literary independence. A copious flow of Sanskrit words into the Tamil tongue took place. In the region of literature, the old ode, *agaval'* gave place to *kāviyam*.² Not only literary forms but also literary images, literary conventions, and poetic images, belonging to

¹ *agaval'*² *kāviyam*

Sanskrit, crept into Tamil poems. The *Mokshaśāstram* of the north-
erners, represented by the *Upaniṣads*, the *Bhagavad Gītā* and the
Vedānta Sūtras, prevailed in the South. Very soon South India more
than amply repaid this debt to North India by producing the three
great *Bhāshyakāras*—Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and Ānandatīrtha.

The genius of Tamil is marked by the scientific temperament; concrete ideas and images appeal to the Tamil people and hence Tamil is peculiarly fitted to be the vehicle of scientific knowledge. The genius of Sanskrit is marked by the philosophical temperament; it revels in abstractions which are the life-breath of philosophy. It was the wedding of Tamil genius and Sanskrit genius that is responsible for South Indian thinkers having become the guides of Indian thought during the last thousand years. In our days the genius of Europe has begun to influence India. The great ambition of Europe is to amass wealth and to utilize it for raising the standard of life, by developing the means of attainment of the ever-increasing methods of appealing to the senses, not only the five senses, but also that of locoemotion. How far the genius of Europe is going to alter the life of the Tamils is concealed in the womb of time. We have succeeded in tearing the veil of past time and getting a few glimpses of ancient life; but future time is covered by a veil of nebulous matter which cannot be pierced by any known methods of ~~enquiry~~.

